# भारत—भूमि और उसके निवासी

राष्ट्रीय एकता माला

# भारत—भूमि और उसके निवासी

नारायणी गुप्ता

अनुवाद

रमेश तिवारी

राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्

## प्रकाशकीय

विश्व का कोई भी देश पुराण-कथा और आख्यान के क्षेत्र में, जो आज भी भारत के जन-जीवन में व्याप्त है, इस देश का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता। भारत-भूमि ने अनेक महान् चिंतकों, समाज-सुधारकों, संतों, धार्मिक नेताओं एवं महान् राष्ट्रनायकों को समय-समय पर जन्म दिया है। हमारी संस्कृति की धारा अटूट रही है और हमारी सांस्कृतिक विरासत अनमोल है। किशोरों को इस सांस्कृतिक संपदा से परिचित कराने के उद्देश्य से परिषद् ने पूरक-पठन-साहित्य के प्रकाशन की योजना बनाई है जिसके अंतर्गत १४ से १७ वर्ष के आयु-वर्ग के बच्चों के लिए कई पुस्तक-मालाएँ प्रकाशित की जा रही हैं। इनमें राष्ट्रीय एकता माला, आधुनिक समाज-सुधारक, भारत के संत कवि, हमारी सांस्कृतिक संपदा, हमारे धार्मिक नेता आदि प्रमुख हैं। ये पुस्तिकाएँ हिंदी और अंग्रेजी में साथ-साथ प्रकाशित की जा रही हैं। कुछ मूल रूप में हिंदी में लिखी गई हैं, कुछ को अंग्रेजी से रूपांतरित किया गया है।

प्रस्तुत पुस्तक मूल रूप से अंग्रेजी में लिखी गई पुस्तक "इंडिया दि लैंड एंड दि पीपुल" का हिंदी अनुवाद है। परिषद् को आशा है कि इससे अपेक्षित उद्देश्य की पूर्ति होगी।

स॰ वि॰ चंद्रशेखर अय्या
निदेशक
राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्

नई दिल्ली
जनवरी १९७२

# विषय-सूची

# १—हमारा देश

*"भारत एक गल्पकथा और एक कल्पना, एक स्वप्न और एक छाया होते हुए भी बिलकुल वास्तविक, चिरस्थायी और सर्वव्यापी है।...."*

'भारत की खोज' में जवाहरलाल नेहरू

एक कल्पना, एक छाया है, हाँ—और साथ ही मात्र एक कल्पना से कहीं ज्यादा कुछ है। भारत पर्वत और घाटियाँ है, नदियाँ और मरुभूमि है, एक विस्मयकारी दृश्यपटल है..... और इसमें हैं कई करोड़ मनुष्य। हम आगे के पृष्ठों में देखेंगे कि युगों से ये लोग किस प्रकार रहते रहे हैं और किस प्रकार वे सोचते रहे हैं। और इसको समझने के बाद हम यह भी समझ सकेंगे कि वह क्या चीज है जो इस देश और इस देश के रहनेवालों को एक राष्ट्र का स्वरूप प्रदान करती है। यदि किसी भू-क्षेत्र के रहनेवालों में एक या एकाधिक चीजें समान होती हैं, और वह चीज ऐसी है जो उन्हें अन्य लोगों से भिन्न कर देती है तो ऐसे भू-क्षेत्र को एक राष्ट्र कहते हैं। हो सकता है कि वह भू-क्षेत्र-विशेष हमेशा से ही एक स्वतंत्र राजनीतिक इकाई रहा हो। हो सकता है कि उस भू-क्षेत्र में रहनेवाले सब लोग एक ही जाति के हों या उनका धर्म, उनकी भाषा या उनकी संस्कृति एक हो। हो सकता है कि उसमें ये कोई विशिष्टताएँ न हों, और फिर भी चूँकि वहाँ के लोगों ने आपस में मिलकर एक राजनीतिक संगठन बनाने का निश्चय किया, इसलिए वह एक राष्ट्र बन गया। भारत एक इतना विशाल देश है कि आज से सौ साल पहले, जब तेज परिवहन-व्यवस्था का विकास नहीं हुआ था, वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से पृथक और काफी हद तक एक दूसरे से स्वतंत्र क्षेत्रों का समूह मात्र था। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों

के निवासियों की भाषा और रहन-सहन के ढंग में बहुत अधिक विविधताएं होने के कारण भारत को सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से भी एक इकाई नहीं कहा जा सकता था। इन भिन्नताओं के बावजूद विभिन्न क्षेत्रों और इनके निवासियों के बीच परस्पर इतना सपर्क रहा है जिसके कारण संपूर्ण रूप से देखने पर भारतीय लोगों में कुछ समानता आ गई है और यही समानता है जिसने उन्हें अफगान, नेपाली, चीनी और बर्मी लोगो से भिन्न बना दिया। पिछले पचास वर्षों के दौरान भारतीयों ने अपनी इस एकता या एकरूपता को राजनीतिक स्वतत्रता और एकीकरण की माँग के रूप मे व्यक्त करना सीखा। भारत में क्या विविधताएँ है और क्या एकता है, इसकी चर्चा अब हम कुछ विस्तार से करेंगे।

भारत एक विशाल देश है—दस लाख वर्ग-मील का क्षेत्रफल, जिस पर पचास करोड़ से अधिक लोग रहते हैं। देश का आकार तो नही बढता, लेकिन आबादी की संख्या बराबर बढ़ती रहती है। इसका अर्थ है कि देश में जो भोजन पैदा होता है उसे खानेवालों की संख्या दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ रही है। इससे पता चलता है कि भारत, जो किसी समय संसार के सबसे समृद्ध देशों में से था, आज क्यों अपेक्षाकृत गरीब देशों की पंक्ति में आ खडा हुआ है। हम इस अध्याय में देखेंगे कि भारतीयों ने अपनी धरती का क्या उपयोग किया है, और यह भी देखेंगे कि हमारा देश आखिर गरीब क्यों हो गया और इस गरीबी पर विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए क्या कुछ किया जा रहा है।

भारत हमेशा से एक कृषि-प्रधान देश रहा है—अर्थात यहाँ के अधिकांश लोग

अपनी जीविका खेती करके या ढोर चरा कर कमाते रहे है, बडे-बडे कारखानो मे नौकरी करके नहीं। यही हाल आज भी है, हालाँकि पिछले बीस वर्षो मे औद्योगीकरण का बहुत विस्तार हुआ है। इसलिए भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का वर्णन उसकी जडों अर्थात गाँवो से आरंभ होना चाहिए।

एक भारतीय गाँव की शक्ल-सूरत सदियों के दौरान भी बिल्कुल नही बदली है, भले ही आज का देहाती बैलगाड़ी की अपेक्षा साइकिल और बाँसुरी की अपेक्षा ट्रांजिस्टर ज्यादा पसंद करने लगा हो। इसके सिवा, भारतीय गाँवों की, चाहे वे काँगड़ा मे हों या कुर्ग में या और कही, कुछ विशेषताएं है जो उनमें समानरूप से पाई जाती हैं—घर बिल्कुल पास-पास बने होते है और उनके चारों ओर फैले हुए खेत-मैदान होते हैं। उनमें कोई एक उपासना-गृह होता है, एक पाठशाला होती है, और एक चौपाल होती है जहाँ शाम को गाँववाले इकट्ठे होते है और गपशप और चर्चा करते है। इन गाँवों में भाषा, वेश-भूषा और उगाई जानेवाली फसलों की भिन्नताएँ है। लेकिन गाँवों के बीच जो समानताएं सदियों पहले मौजूद थीं वे और आज के गाँवो के बीच की समानताएं विलक्षण हैं। आज का गाँव राजनीतिक रूप से आंशिक रूप में स्वतंत्र है और वह अपना प्रबंध अपनी चुनी हुई पचायत द्वारा करता है। इसके साथ ही वह अपेक्षाकृत बड़ी इकाइयों का—जिले का, जिले के ऊपर राज्य का और राज्य के ऊपर राष्ट्र का—भी अंग है। अपनी आर्थिक आवश्यकताओं के लिए भी गाँव आशिक रूप से स्वतंत्र है, और आंशिक रूप से कुछ तरह के सामानों के लिए शहरों और अन्य देहाती क्षेत्रों के ऊपर निर्भर है। प्रारंभिक ऐतिहासिक काल से ही भारत के अधिकाश गाँव इसी प्रकार संगठित रहे हैं। लेकिन पहले की सदियों की अपेक्षा आज का आधुनिक

भारतीय गॉव जिस जिले और राज्य मे अवस्थित है उनसे वह आर्थिक और राज-नीतिक रूप से ज्यादा घनिष्ठ रूप से जुडा हुआ है।

आज पचायत का चुनाव सारे गॉववाले करते हैं। पहले जो गॉववाले सबसे ज्यादा जमीन के स्वामी होते थे वे ही सामान्यतया गॉव के शासन का नियन्त्रण करते थे। अक्सर ही जमीन का स्वामित्व एक परिवार-समूह के हाथों में होता था, कभी-कभी अलग-अलग व्यक्तियों और मंदिरो या मठों, अथवा स्वय राजा के हाथों में होता था। जहॉ तक नहरें खोदने या खेती के औजार खरीदने का सवाल था, संयुक्त स्वामित्व बहुत फायदेमंद था। गाँवों मे जमींदारों के अलावा काश्तकार, दस्तकार, लोहार, राज, बुनकर तथा पुरोहित थे। इन लोगों को उनकी सेवाओं के बदले मे सालाना होनेवाली दो फसलों का एक निश्चित भाग वेतन के रूप में दिया जाता था। इस हद तक वे लोग, जिनके पास कोई जमीन नहीं थी, भूमिधारी गॉववालों के ऊपर निर्भर थे। लेकिन जब व्यक्तिगत समस्याएं और प्रश्न उठ खड़े होते थे तब गॉववाले अपने गॉव के भूमिधारियों की नही बल्कि अपने धंधेवालों की विरादरी की पचायत का सहारा लेते थे। जिन पंचायतो का हमने पहले उल्लेख किया है, ये पंचायतें उनसे भिन्न थी। एक विरादरी की पचायत कुछ गाँवों के सामूहिक समानधर्मा लोगो द्वारा निर्वाचित होती थी। इससे पता चलता है कि विभिन्न गॉवों के लोगों में आपस मे सपर्क रहता था।

आर्थिक रूप से यद्यपि प्रत्येक गॉव अपने निवासियों की जरूरत भर का अनाज और अन्य चीजें पैदा करता था तथापि उसे कुछ चीजें--सामान्यत: लोहा, नमक और कभी-कभी कपड़ा--देहाती मेलो या निकटवर्ती शहरों से खरीदनी पड़ती थी। गॉव के समूहों को अक्सर यह सुविधाजनक होता था कि वे आपस मे मिल जाएँ और अपनी फसलों का, और अपने लोहारों तथा अन्य कारीगरों का मिल-जुलकर उपयोग करे। शेष देश के साथ इन संपर्कों के अलावा, प्रत्येक गॉव को फसल का एक निश्चित भाग (कभी-कभी उसके बदले एक निश्चित धन-राशि) राजा या जमींदार को देना पड़ता था।

भारत के शहर भी गाँवो की तरह पिछली शताब्दी तक बहुत ज्यादा नही बदले थे। ऐतिहासिक काल के शहरों का वर्णन करने से पहले हम उन शहरों का जिक्र करना जरूरी समझते है जो उस जमाने में विद्यमान थे जिनका इतिहास हम नहीं जानते और जिनके काल के बारे में विवाद है। यह आरंभिक सभ्यता आज जो पाकिस्तान है, उससे लेकर मध्य भारत तक फैली हुई थी। उसके पुरातात्विक अवशेषों से पता चलता है कि उस काल मे कुछ अत्यंत सुदर ढंग से नियोजित शहर थे जिनमे काफी चौड़ी सडकें थीं और पानी के निकास की अत्यंत अच्छी व्यवस्था थी। आप ये सब चीजे पाकिस्तान में मोहन-जोदड़ो की खुदाइयों के फोटो-चित्रों में देख सकते हैं। उस जमाने में अत्यंत समृद्ध व्यापारिक केंद्र भी थे जो पश्चिमी एशिया और उत्तरी अफ्रीका के साथ व्यापार करते थे। जिस सभ्यता ने इन शहरों को पैदा किया वह नष्ट हो गई--कब और कैसे, यह निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता। उनके बाद इस देश में आकर बसने वाली और आर्य भाषाएँ बोलनेवाली जाति कृषक जाति थी। इनके आने के कई सदियों बाद जाकर फिर से बडे शहरों का निर्माण शुरू हुआ।

बहुत हाल के वर्षो तक सामान्य तौर पर उन्हीं स्थानों के निकट शहर बसते रहे जहाँ सरकार और व्यापार के केंद्र, तीर्थ स्थान और बंदरगाह थे। जो शहर राजनीतिक सत्ता के केंद्र थे उनका जीवन सदा बहुत अनिश्चित रहता था क्योंकि साम्राज्यो के पतन के बाद उनका भी ह्रास होने लगता था। तथापि कुछ स्थानो की स्थिति इतनी अच्छी थी कि वहाँ बार-बार शहर बसाए गए। इसका सबसे अच्छा उदाहरण दिल्ली है जो सात बार राजधानी के रूप में चुनी गई है। इसका कारण यह है कि दिल्ली एक स्वास्थ्यप्रद स्थान है, यह एक नदी--यमुना--के तट पर स्थित है और बंबई तथा कलकत्ता के बंदरगाहों से इसका फासला लगभग बराबर है। अपने उत्कर्ष काल में ऐसे शहर अद्भुत रूप से वैभवशाली और ऐश्वर्यपूर्ण थे, जिनका जीवन सांस्कृतिक रूप से समृद्धि और आर्थिक रूप से संपन्नता से परिपूर्ण था। यह बात समय-समय पर विदेशी यात्रियो द्वारा दिए गए विवरणों से पता चलती है। चंद्रगुप्त मौर्य के काल में यूनानी राजनयज्ञ मेगास्थनीज

भारत आया था। चंद्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य के शासनकाल में चीनी यात्री फाह्यान ने भारत की यात्रा की थी, और शाहजहाँ के शासनकाल में बर्नियर उसके दरबार में रहा था। सम्राट अशोक की राजधानी पाटलिपुत्र से फाह्यान इतना प्रभावित हुआ कि उसने लिखा कि नगर के राजमहलों को मनुष्यों ने नहीं, जिन्न और प्रेतों ने बनाया होगा। शहरों में लघु उद्योग काफी विकसित हालत में थे और प्रत्येक उद्यम में काम करनेवाले कारीगरों और शिल्पियों के अपने-अपने संगठन थे। शिल्पियों में से अधिकांश लोग राजघराने के सदस्यों और नागरिकों के लिए तथा निर्यात के लिए आराम और भोग-विलास की वस्तुओं का उत्पादन करते थे। शहरों में और गाँवों में भी एक ही जाति या एक ही धंधा करनेवाले लोग सामान्यतः एक ही बस्ती में रहते थे और अपना काम या व्यापार भी उसी बस्ती में करते थे। इसका मतलब यह कि उनके रहने के घर, थोक और फुटकर व्यापार की दूकानें, मनोरंजन केंद्र, राजनीतिक और सार्वजनिक स्थल, सभी कुछ एक ही जगह स्थित थे और आज के आधुनिक नगर में वे जिस तरह पृथक रूप से अवस्थित हैं, वैसा उस समय नहीं था। सन १८५७ के बाद भारत में अंग्रेजों के शासनकाल के दौरान धीरे-धीरे बहुत से अंग्रेज परिवार भारत में रहने के ख्याल से यहाँ आकर बस गए थे। ये लोग सामान्यतः शहर के निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों में, लेकिन शहर से अलग, एक बिलकुल अलग जाति की भाँति रहा करते थे।

पिछले पचास-साठ वर्षों के दौरान शहरों का इस प्रकार निर्माण या पुनर्निर्माण करने की कोशिश की गई है कि उनमें आवास, क्रय-विक्रय के केंद्र और औद्योगिक संस्थानों का अपना-अपना पृथक क्षेत्र हो। इन प्रयासों के पीछे यह विश्वास है कि यदि नगरों को, जहाँ एक छोटे से क्षेत्र में पहले ही बहुत घनी आबादी होती है, और ज्यादा घनी आबादी से बचाना है, यदि उन्हें अस्वास्थ्यकर और कुरूप होने से बचाना है, तो शहरों को बनाने से पहले उनकी सावधानीपूर्वक योजना बना लेनी चाहिए। चंडीगढ़ भारत में एक पूर्णतः पूर्व नियोजित आदर्श के आधार पर निर्मित किया जानेवाला ऐसा ही एक नगर है।

गाँवों में अपने और शहरों के उपयोग के लिए खाद्यान्न पैदा किया जाता था। वहाँ कपास जैसी फसलें भी पैदा की जाती थीं जिनसे तैयार माल का उत्पादन किया जाता था। गाँवों में खाद्यान्न और अन्य फसलें इतनी प्रचुर मात्रा में पैदा की जाती थी कि उनका विदेशों में निर्यात किया जा सकता था। भारत के प्राकृतिक साधनों के भंडार इतने विशाल हैं कि वह पूर्व-ऐतिहासिक काल से ही अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार करता रहा है। पश्चिमी एशिया, अफ्रीका और यूरोप के साथ यह व्यापार समुद्री रास्तों से गुजरात, मलाबार, कोरोमंडल और बंगाल के तटों से तथा मध्य एशिया के साथ उत्तर भारत से होता था। बाद मे समुद्री रास्तों से दक्षिण-पूर्वी एशिया और चीन के साथ भी व्यापार किया जाने लगा। भारत से निर्यात होनेवाली मुख्य वस्तुएँ थीं. मसाले, कपास, कपड़ा, हाथी-दाँत और लकड़ी, दस्तकारी की वस्तुएं, हाथी और मोर। ऐसी बहुत कम चीजें थीं जिन्हें भारत को दूसरे देशों से आयात करने की जरूरत पड़ती। इसका नतीजा यह था कि भारत से तरह-तरह का माल लादकर विदेशों को जाने वाले जहाज जब वापस भारत को लौटते थे तब चाँदी और सोने से लदे होते थे। भारत में बाहर से माल तो बहुत कम आता था लेकिन भारतीय व्यापारियों की तिजोरियों मे सोना-चाँदी भरता जाता था। व्यापार से होनेवाले इस मुनाफे से भारत की काफी बड़ी आबादी को फायदा तभी हो सकता था जब व्यापारी लोग इस मुनाफे को फिर से नए-नए ढंग की चीजों के उत्पादन में लगा देते, ज्यादा लोगों को काम पर लगाते और नए-नए बाजार ढूँढ़ने की कोशिश करते। यदि ऐसा किया गया होता तो भारत का उद्योग और व्यापार उतना ही व्यापक हो गया होता जितना कि सत्रहवीं सदी और उसके बाद यूरोप में फैला। ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ इसका एक कारण आंशिक रूप से राजनीतिक था। सामान्य रूप से भारत के शासकों ने (चीन के राजाओं की तरह ही) शिल्प संघों की सहायता नहीं की और न उन्हें ज्यादा बड़े बाजार ढूँढ़ने के लिए प्रोत्साहित ही किया, जैसा कि यूरोप के शासकों ने किया। कुछ शासकों ने अगर ऐसा करने का प्रयत्न भी किया तो उनके प्रयत्नों मे अक्सर युद्धों के कारण बाधा पैदा हो जाती थी। भारत के व्यापार की प्रगति न होने का एक कारण यह भी था

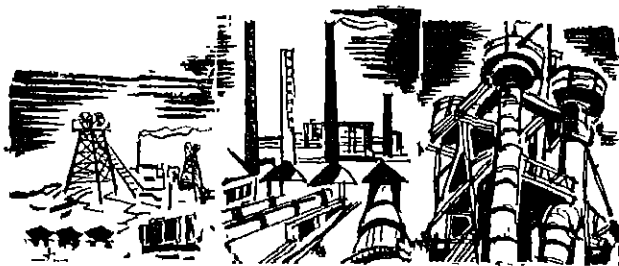
कि यहाँ इस देश की आर्थिक समृद्धि और संपन्नता के साथ-ही-साथ उस ढंग का कोई वैज्ञानिक विकास और तकनीकी परिवर्तन नहीं आ सका जैसा कि ब्रिटेन में औद्योगिक क्रांति के कारण आया। सम्राट अकबर जैसा व्यक्ति, जिसे नई चीजों मे अद्भुत दिलचस्पी थी, कुछ विदेशी यात्रियों द्वारा भेंट की गई घडी जैसी चीज को महज एक कौतूहल की वस्तु और खिलौना समझता रहा, बजाय इसके कि वह उसे यंत्रों के क्षेत्र मे एक प्रगति समझता और इस प्रगति को समझने और उसका अनुकरण करने के योग्य समझता। दूसरी तरफ, भारतीय व्यापारियों को भय रहता था कि शासक लोग उनके मुनाफे का एक भाग राजकोष के लिए माँग लेंगे, और इसीलिए वे बहुत सावधान रहते थे और अपना मुनाफा बताते नहीं थे। जो मुनाफा वे कमाते थे वह अक्सर छिपा दिया जाता था; कभी-कभी वे उस धन को धार्मिक सस्थाओं को दान कर देते थे, या अक्सर आर्थिक दृष्टि से अलाभकर रत्नाभूषणों के रूप में परिवर्तित कर लेते थे। अतः भारत में आनेवाला धन बहुत थोड़े से लोगों को ही लाभ पहुँचा पाता था। यही नही, सार्वजनिक बैंकिग का रिवाज भी भारत में विकसित नही हुआ जैसा कि वह पंद्रहवीं शताब्दी के यूरोप में हुआ।

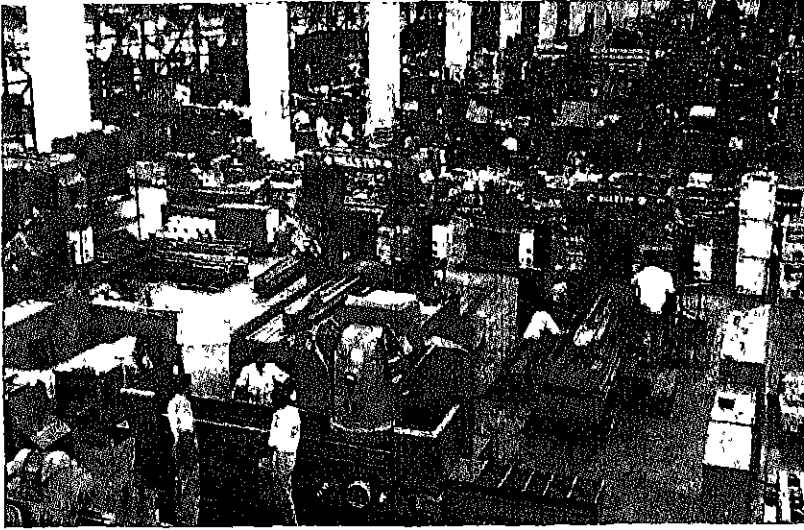
भारतीयों ने एशियाई व्यापार के क्षेत्र मे अपनी प्रमुखता सातवी शताब्दी से खोनी आरंभ कर दी, हालाँकि इस व्यापार में भारतीय माल का ही बहुत बड़ा भाग होता था। इस शताब्दी तक भारतीय लोग ही भारतीय समुद्र के स्वामी हुआ करते थे, लेकिन अब अरब लोग उनके प्रतिद्वंद्वी के रूप में प्रकट हुए। सोलहवी शताब्दी तक, जब पश्चिमी यूरोप के व्यापारी भी भारतीय समुद्र में सक्रिय रूप से व्यापार करने लगे, भारतीय जहाजों के जरिए होनेवाला व्यापार भारतीय तटों तक ही सीमित रह गया था। जहाँ तक भारत का सवाल था, उसके अंदर जो स्थानीय व्यापारिक संगठन थे, उनका यूरोपीय व्यापारियों के साथ कोई मुकाबला नहीं था। वह भारत, जिसने विगत काल में विदेशों से इतना धन खींचा था, अठारहवीं शताब्दी तक एक ऐसा देश बन गया जिसका यूरोपीयों को लाभ पहुँचाने के लिए शोषण किया जा रहा था।

जिस काल में ब्रिटेन संपूर्ण भारत पर अपना राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व कायम कर

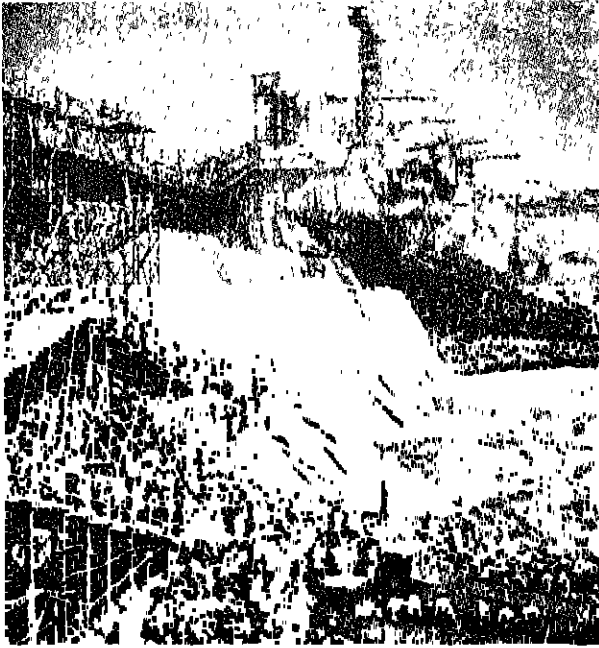
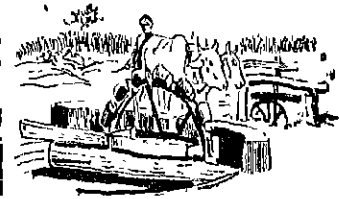
रहा था, लगभग उसी काल में स्वय ब्रिटेन उस प्रक्रिया से गुजर रहा था जिसे 'औद्योगिक क्राति' के नाम से जाना जाता है। यह वह प्रक्रिया थी जिसमें घरों में तैयार होनेवाला माल अब यंत्रों की सहायता से कारखानों में व्यापक पैमाने पर तैयार किया जाने लगा था जिससे कम समय मे ज्यादा माल तैयार करने मे मदद मिलने लगी। जब यह प्रक्रिया चल रही थी तब ब्रिटिश उत्पादकों ने अपने उद्योगों के लिए कच्चा माल अन्य देशों से खरीदना शुरू किया और बदले में ब्रिटेन में तैयार होनेवाला माल उन्होंने कच्चा माल बेचनेवाले देशो को बेचना शुरू किया। इसी काल में---अठारहवीं शताब्दी में---ब्रिटेन द्वारा भारत की राजनीतिक विजय भी निरतर बढती जा रही थी। भारत ब्रिटेन को कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कच्चा माल देता था; इनमें सबसे प्रमुख निर्यात था: कपास, कपास के बाद पटसन, गन्ना और तंबाकू। भारत ब्रिटेन में सस्ते में बड़े पैमाने पर तैयार होनेवाले माल का---विशेष रूप से कपड़े का सबसे बड़ा ग्राहक भी बन गया या बनने पर विवश किया गया। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि भारत के कुछ परंपरागत शिल्प और उद्योगों का ह्रास होने लगा क्योंकि वे कारखानों में तैयार होनेवाले ब्रिटिश माल के साथ होड करने की स्थिति में नही थे। हजारों मील दूर से भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का ब्रिटेन द्वारा इस प्रकार का नियंत्रण बहुत कठोर था, और उसने भारत को जितना कमजोर किया उतना इससे पहले किसी चीज ने नहीं किया था। यह परिवर्तन व्यापारिक फसलों के विकास में देखा जा सकता है। किसान लोग नकदी फसल की खेती करने लगे जिन्हें लोगों को भोजन देने के लिए नहीं बल्कि नकद दाम पर बेचने के लिए पैदा किया जाता था। देश के कुछ भागों में अमुक प्रकार की चीजें, जैसे चाय या कपास बडे पैमाने पर पैदा की जाने लगी, जिन्हें नकद रुपयों के बदले बेचा जाता था। इस धन से किसान लोग अन्य क्षेत्रो से अपने खाने के लिए खाद्यान्न खरीदते थे और अपना लगान ब्रिटिश सरकार को चुकता करते थे। (यह अंग्रेज सरकार, पहले के शासकों के विपरीत, इस बात पर आग्रह करती थी कि लगान नकद रुपयों के रूप मे चुकता किया जाना चाहिए।) इस प्रकार, उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य तक भारत की अर्थ-व्यवस्था सामान्यरूप से मुद्रा-प्रधान हो गई थी---अर्थात मुद्रा का प्रयोग

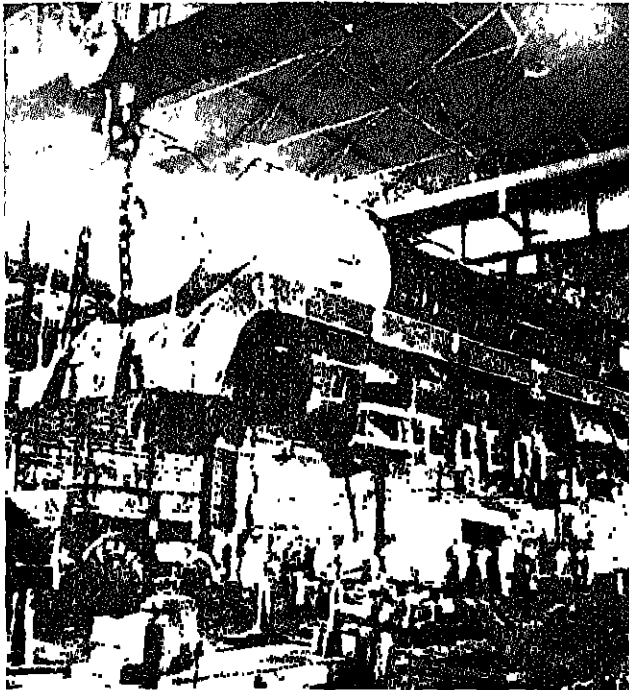
बढ गया था। इस समान तत्त्व के कारण, और साथ ही विभिन्न फसलें उगाने में विशेपता प्राप्त करनेवाले क्षेत्रों की परस्पर निर्भरता, और इन सामानों को एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थानों तक शीघ्रता से पहुँचाने के लिए देशव्यापी सड़कों के निर्माण के कारण इस देश का आर्थिक रूप से इस प्रकार एकीकरण हो गया जैसा कि इससे पहले कभी नहीं था। एक राजनीतिक तत्त्व ने भी इस प्रक्रिया को तेजी प्रदान कर दी--और यह राजनीतिक तत्त्व था उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य से भारत में युद्धों का अभाव और लगातार शाति की स्थापना।

नकदी के रूप में लगान जमा करने की व्यवस्था से अधिक गरीब किसानों के ऊपर कठिनाई भी आई। लगान अदा न कर सकने के कारण उनके सामने जमीन छोड़ देने के अलावा कोई चारा ही नही रहा और उनमें से बहुत से लोग अन्य धंधों की तलाश में शहरों में चले गए। शहरों की ओर जिन्होंने रुख किया उनमे वे कारीगर और शिल्पी भी थे जो ब्रिटेन की प्रतिस्पर्द्धा के कारण बेरोजगार हो गए थे। इन दोनों वर्गो ने शहरों की आबादी बढ़ा दी और गाँवों और शहरों के बीच एक कड़ी कायम कर दी क्योकि कई परिवार ऐसे थे जिनके सदस्य गाँवों और शहरों, दोनो जगहों पर थे।

उन्नीसवी शताब्दी के अंत में एक और महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुआ। यह था औद्योगीकरण का आरंभ। इसका प्रथम उद्देश्य देश के कोयले और लोहे की समृद्ध सपदा का उपयोग करना था जिनका इससे पहले कोई उपयोग किया ही नहीं गया था।

यही नहीं, यह लघु कुटीर उद्योगों की जगह बड़े कारखानोंवाले उद्योगों की स्थापना का प्रयास भी था। औद्योगीकरण से प्राप्त होनेवाला एक तीसरा और सबसे महत्वपूर्ण लाभ जो हमें हुआ वह शायद यह है कि औद्योगीकरण की तकनीकों को स्वयं जानने के बाद हम भारत मे वे चीजें बना सकते हैं जिनको प्राप्त करने के लिए हमें ज्यादा विकसित देशों पर निर्भर करना होता था। आज ऐसा कोई कच्चा माल नही है जो अन्य देश भारत से आयात करना चाहते हो। इसका कारण यह है कि वास्तविक सामान

बंगलौर के 'हिंदुस्तान मशीन टूल्स' कारखाने का एक दृश्य

की जगह नकली माल, जैसे नाइलोन का, ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा उपयोग किया जाने लगा है। भारत के सामने दूसरी बाधा यह है कि अपनी बढ़ती हुई जन-संख्या के कारण उसे अपने यहाँ पैदा होनेवाले सारे खाद्यान्न की स्वयं जरूरत होती है और वह उसका

ज्यादा निर्यात नही कर सकता। ये दो तत्व हमारे लिए यह आवश्यक कर देते है कि हमें खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन में आत्म-निर्भर और जहाँ तक हमारी औद्योगिक आवश्यकताओं का प्रश्न है कम-से-कम आशिक रूप से आत्मनिर्भर हो जाना चाहिए। यही कारण है कि हमारे इस्पात कारखाने और हमारी पन-बिजली योजनाए तथा हमारी अनेक लघुउद्योग योजनाएं हमारे लिए बहुत महत्व रखती है।

नागार्जुन सागर बाध का निर्माण-कार्य

अभी हमने अपनी जन-सख्या-वृद्धि का जो जिक्र किया सो वह भी पिछले एक सौ साल का परिणाम है। ग्रामीण और शहरी भारत का जिस समय आधुनिकीकरण

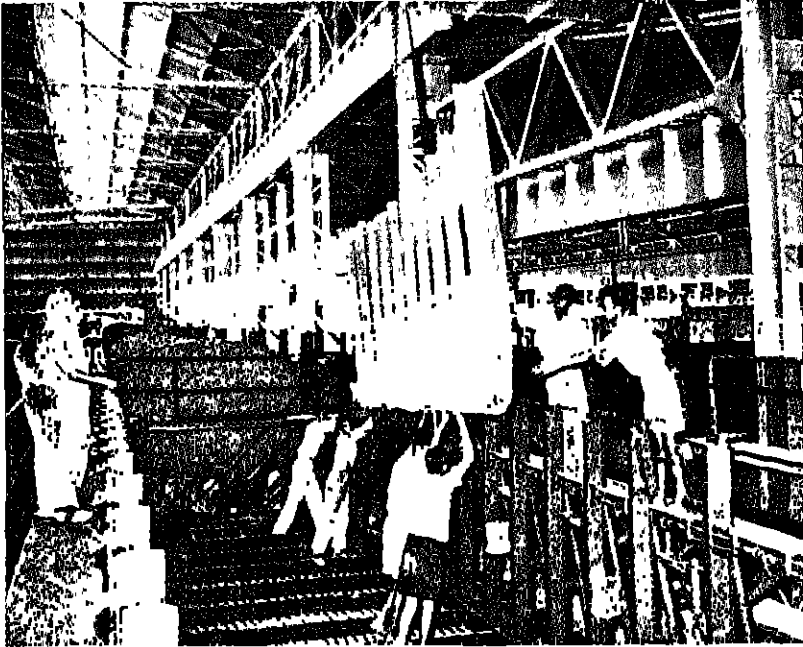
हो रहा था, उसके साथ ही साथ जन-संख्या भी बढ़ रही थी। इसका एक मुख्य कारण यह था कि ज्यादा बेहतर स्वास्थ्य-सुविधाओं के कारण बाल-मृत्यु की संख्या घट गई और लोग अपने पितामहों या अपने पूर्वजों की अपेक्षा ज्यादा दीर्घजीवी हो गए।

चित्तरंजन के इंजन बनाने के कारखाने में विभिन्न पुर्जों के जोड़ने का कार्य

हम ठीक-ठीक नहीं कह सकते कि पहले की सदियों में भारत की जन-संख्या क्या थी, लेकिन १८८१ से--भारत में प्रथम जन-संख्या गणना होने के समय से--हमारे पास ठीक-ठीक आँकड़े हैं। इनसे, और इनसे पहले के मोटे अनुमानों को देखते हुए जन-संख्या

तेजी से बढ़ती नजर आती है—यानी १८०० में जो जन-संख्या १३ करोड़ थी, वह आज ५० करोड़ हो गई है।

हालाँकि स्वास्थ्य संबंधी सुविधाएँ बढ़ रही थी, लेकिन साथ ही यह भी याद रखना चाहिए कि कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्र थे जहाँ सिंचाई और संचार की अच्छी व्यवस्था के अभाव में जब कभी वर्षा नहीं हुई तब घोर अकाल भी पड़ा। यहाँ तक कि हाल ही में—१९६६ में—देश के कुछ भागों मे अकाल की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई थी। सिंचाई और परिवहन सेवाओं में जबर्दस्त सुधार किए गए हैं, लेकिन इससे पहले कि हम वर्षा पर निर्भर करने की सदियों पुरानी आदत छोड़ सकें, सिंचाई और परिवहन सेवाओं का व्यापक विस्तार करने की जरूरत है।

भारत की आर्थिक समस्याएँ इतनी बड़ी हैं कि जब १९४७ में भारत स्वतंत्र और एकीकृत हुआ तब उसके नए शासकों ने सोचा, और ठीक ही सोचा कि आर्थिक नीति को सरकारी क्रिया-कलाप का आवश्यक अंग बना देना चाहिए। इस दिशा में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय जो लिया गया वह एक नियोजित अर्थ-व्यवस्था-विषयक था, जिसका उद्देश्य था कि सारे देश के लिए पूरे पाँच वर्ष के लिए एक सुनियोजित आर्थिक व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। ऐसी योजनाओं के अंतर्गत विशिष्ट विषयों पर किए जानेवाले खर्च का निर्धारण कर दिया जाएगा और विभिन्न सूत्रों से सरकार को होनेवाली निश्चित आय की सुनिश्चितता हो जाएगी। एक ऐसे देश में जो संक्रमणकाल से गुजर रहा है, यानी जो मुख्यतः कृषि-प्रधान व्यवस्था से अंशतः कृषिकर और अंशतः औद्योगिक अर्थ-व्यवस्था मे परिणत होता जा रहा है, सुव्यवस्थित आर्थिक विकास का यह सर्वोत्तम तरीका है। योजना कुल मिलाकर उत्पादन बढ़ाने में सहायक होती है और प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में उस वस्तु के उत्पादन को प्रोत्साहन भी देती है जिसके उत्पादन के लिए वह क्षेत्र सबसे अधिक उपयुक्त है, और इसके साथ ही वह ऐसे क्षेत्रों में भी उद्योगों की स्थापना मे सहायक होती है जिन्हे यदि उनके हाल पर छोड़ दिया जाए तो वे गरीब और पिछड़े क्षेत्र ही रहेंगे। संपूर्ण देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था की आयोजना करके गरीबी का उंमूलन किया जा सकता है और प्रगति की जा सकती है।

ऊपर जो कुछ बताया गया है उससे आप ऐसा न समझें कि भारत की आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर पूरी तरह सरकार का नियंत्रण है। भारत पूरी तरह एक समाजवादी देश नही है--अर्थात, यह ऐसा देश नहीं है जहाँ सपत्ति पर व्यक्ति का निजी अधिकार नही बल्कि राज्य का अधिकार है। यदि ऐसा होता तो सरकार आर्थिक दृष्टि से बिल्कुल

बगलौर स्थित 'हिंदुस्तान मशीन टूल्स' कारखाने का भारी मशीन विभाग

तानाशाह होती। इसमें तो सरकार को उचित से ज्यादा अधिकार प्राप्त होता। लेकिन साथ ही भारत पूरी तरह पूँजीवादी देश भी नहीं है--यानी, ऐसा देश नही है जहाँ की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पूरी तरह से व्यक्तियों के निजी हाथ में हो। ऐसी अर्थ-व्यवस्था

में अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण आर्थिक निर्णय ऐसे लोगों के हाथों में होगा, जिनके हित संभव है राष्ट्रीय हितों से मेल न खाते हों। इसके सिवा, किसी बहुत ज्यादा खर्चीली औद्योगिक योजना में, जैसे कि इस्पात का कारखाना ही लें, हो सकता है कि एक या एक से अधिक व्यक्तियों के पास पूँजी लगाने के लिए धन उपलब्ध न हो, जब कि राज्य के पास ऐसी किसी योजना को शुरू करने के लिए पर्याप्त धन होगा। इसलिए जो बीच का रास्ता निकाला गया है वह यह है कि अर्थ-व्यवस्था का कुछ अंश सरकार के नियंत्रण में रहे और कुछ अंश व्यक्तियों के हाथ में।

हमने एक मोटा खाका खींचा है कि भारतीय लोग एक जमाने से किस प्रकार रहते रहे है। बहुत-सी चीजें है जो भारत मे ज्यों-की-त्यों बनी हुई है और इतने लंबे अर्से में भी बदली नहीं; जैसे रहट की मंथर लय अब भी सुनी जा सकती है, किसान अभी भी खेतों में हाथ से दाने छिड़कते है, सुनार लोग हाथों से सुंदर बारीक कारी-गरीवाले गहने गढ़ते है, गृहणियाँ घरो में चरखे पर सूत कातती है। ये ऐसे दृश्य है जो हमारे पूर्वजों को सदियो बाद आज देखने पर भी सुपरिचित लगेंगे। लेकिन कुछ अन्य ऐसी चीजें भी है जो उन्हें उलझन और परेशानी में डाल देंगी, जैसे इस्पात की भट्टी से निकलता हुआ धुआँ, खेतों को जोतता हुआ ट्रैक्टर, एक विराट बाँध से प्रबल वेग से गिरता पानी का विशाल झरना। भारत इन्हीं पारंपरिक और आधुनिक वस्तुओं का एक मिश्रण है, और आपको पारंपरिक चीजों में जो उपयोगी है उसके प्रति आदर भाव रखते हुए जो कुछ आधुनिक है उसे समझने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

## २—हमारे सामाजिक समूह

*"मंदिर और मस्जिद मे, हिंदू और मुसलमान की प्रार्थना में कोई भेद नहीं है। सभी मनुष्य समान हैं। वे भिन्न हैं, ऐसा सोचना गलत है।"*

—गुरु गोविंद सिंह

आप में से अधिकांश लोगों के ऐसे मित्र होंगे जो अन्य धर्मावलंबी हैं या भिन्न प्रांत के रहनेवाले हैं या भिन्न भाषा बोलते हैं। और आप में से जिन्हें भारत के अन्य भागों में यात्रा करने का अवसर मिला होगा उन्होंने देखा होगा कि किस प्रकार अन्य क्षेत्रों के लोगों के रीति-रिवाज, भोजन-संबंधी आदतें और वेश-भूषा आपके यहाँ से भिन्न है। भारत का यह एक ऐसा पहलू है जो सबसे ज्यादा आकर्षक है—भारत एक बहुरंगी मानचित्र है, और उसकी सांस्कृतिक समृद्धि को समझ सकना एक ही जन्म में असंभव है। आप चाहे कोई भी काम या धंधा करते हों, यदि आप अपने राष्ट्र में मौजूद इस व्यापकतर एकता में कुछ दिलचस्पी लें, तो आप अपने जीवन का कहीं अधिक आनंद उठा सकेंगे। जो ऐसा करने की परवाह नहीं करते, वे भारत के नागरिक कहलाने योग्य नहीं हैं। ऐसे लोगों के लिए संस्कृत की 'कूप-मंडूक अर्थात कुएँ का मेंढक की उपमा ठीक ही दी जा सकती है : ऐसा व्यक्ति जो कुएँ के मेंढक के समान केवल अपने चारों ओर की सीमित जगह को ही देख पाता है और इस बात का उसे कोई



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ज्ञान ही नहीं है कि बाहर एक कोई बड़ी दुनिया भी है। कुछ लोगों की यह संकीर्ण दृष्टि विगत काल में भारत की राजनीतिक और सामाजिक दुर्बलता का एक प्रधान कारण रही है। हम इसे आगे जारी नहीं रहने दे सकते।

भारत की सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक विविधता का एक कारण यह है कि इसमें बहुत सारी जातियों के लोग रहते हैं जो भिन्न-भिन्न समय पर भारत में आए, और वहाँ पहले से ही मौजूद लोगों में घुल-मिल गए। इस देश के सबसे पुराने निवासी आस्ट्रेलायड जाति के थे जो दक्षिण एशिया और आस्ट्रेलिया में बसे हुए थे। उनके बाद प्रोटोआस्ट्रेलायड आए जो शायद पश्चिम एशिया में रहनेवाली जातियों के अंग थे। ये लोग द्रविड़ भाषाएं बोलते थे। इनके पीछे मध्य एशिया के नार्डिक लोग आए जो आर्य भाषा बोलते थे, जिसे कि यूरोप में बस जानेवाली उनकी जाति के लोग भी बोलते थे। इनके बाद आनेवाली जातियाँ थीं, तुर्क, अरब, फारसी और अफ़गान। उत्तर-पश्चिम की ओर से आनेवाली इन जातियों के सिवा भारत में ऐसे छोटे जाति समूह भी हैं जैसे असम और बंगाल के मंगोल-मूलक व्यक्ति (जो बर्मा और दक्षिण-पूर्व एशिया के लोगों के समान हैं), भारत के पश्चिमी तटवर्ती क्षेत्र के अरब और पश्चिमी तट पर बस जानेवाले कुछ यूरोपीय।

हम इतिहास में जितना ही पीछे जाएं उतना ही दुष्कर यह निश्चित कर सकना है कि अमुक काल में समाज किस प्रकार का था। आर्यों के आने से पहले समाज की रचना कैसी थी इसका हमें बहुत ठीक ज्ञान नहीं है। हालाँकि हमें मालूम है कि आरंभिक काल में एक सुसंपन्न सभ्यता भारत में मौजूद थी जिसमें लोगों ने बड़े-बड़े नगरों की रचना की थी और जो पश्चिमी एशिया के देशों के साथ व्यापार करते थे, लेकिन उनके सामाजिक वर्गों के बारे में, उनके पारिवारिक जीवन के बारे में, उनके मनोरंजन के साधनों के विषय में हमें कुछ भी मालूम नहीं है। इतना हम जरूर जानते हैं कि हिंदू धर्म के रूप में आगे चलकर प्रसिद्ध होनेवाले धर्म के कुछ अंग, जैसे शिव और शक्ति की पूजा द्रविडों की पूजा के अंग थे और बाद में वे आर्य धर्म के अंग बन गए।

जब आर्य लोग गंगा के मैदान में, और बाद में दक्षिण में बस गए, तब वे द्रविड़ों

के साथ समानता के स्तर पर व्यवहार करने को तैयार नही थे। अतः उन्होंने जाति के आधार पर--विजेता जाति (आर्य) और विजित जाति (द्रविड़ जिन्हें वे तिरस्कारपूर्वक 'दास' कहते थे)--एक सामाजिक भेद किया। इसका यह अर्थ नही था कि दोनो जातियाँ बिल्कुल एक-दूसरे से अलग रहती थीं। वे सामाजिक रूप से एक-दूसरे से मिलती-जुलती थीं, और कालातर में उनमें परस्पर विवाह-संबंध भी होने लगे, और फिर आगे चल कर तो यह बताना कठिन हो गया कि कौन शुद्ध आर्य है और कौन शुद्ध द्रविड़। जातियों के बीच का यह भेद जातियों की स्थापना का पहला चरण था। आर्य-भाषी लोगों के बीच धंधे के आधार पर तीन प्रकार का सामाजिक विभाजन था--पुरोहित वर्ग, योद्धा वर्ग और समाज का शेष भाग। धर्म और शिक्षा पर नियंत्रण होने के कारण पुरोहित वर्ग को सबसे अधिक सम्मान प्राप्त था। आगे भी सामान्यतः यही स्थिति बनी रही, हालांकि कुछ स्थानों मे जातियों के बीच श्रेष्ठता का यह मौलिक क्रम नहीं माना जाता था। ऐसा भी होता था कि गैर-ब्राह्मण व्यक्ति-समूह या उप-जातियाँ अपने-आप को ब्राह्मण अभिषिक्त करा लेते थे ताकि वे सामाजिक श्रेष्ठता का लाभ उठा सकें जो कि राजनीतिक सत्ता प्राप्त करने के इच्छुक लोगों के लिए बहुत सहायक थी। इसी प्रकार मध्य एशिया से आनेवाले आक्रमणकारी--हूण, शक (सीथियन), पार्थियन और अन्य जातियाँ--भारतीय समाज का अंग बन सकीं। हालांकि वे विदेशी विजेताओं के रूप में भारत आए, लेकिन विजय के बाद वे इस देश के सामाजिक ढाँचे को स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार हो गए। उन्होंने भारत की ही एक उप-जाति के रूप मे समाज मे स्थान प्राप्त किया और कुछ समय बाद उन्होंने ब्राह्मणों से अनुरोध किया कि वे उन्हें ब्राह्मणों का विशिष्ट दर्जा प्रदान कर दें। इस प्रकार जाति-प्रथा ने सामाजिक संबंधों को एक आधार प्रदान किया और विदेशियों को भारतीय समाज में स्थान प्राप्त करने मे सहायता की। यदि स्थानीय निवासी उन्हें विदेशी मानते तो वे समाज में यह स्थान प्राप्त नही कर सकते थे।

जाति-प्रथा की कुछ बुराइयाँ भी थीं। विभिन्न जातियों के लोगों के बीच मुक्त संबंधों का हो सकना कठिन हो गया। स्त्रियों की सामाजिक और आर्थिक

स्थिति बिगड़ गई---स्त्रियाँ, जिन्हें आर्यों के आगमन के आरंभिक काल में पुरुषों के समकक्ष माना जाता था, बाद के काल में उनका दर्जा पुरुष से नीचा हो गया, उन्हें पुनर्विवाह की अनुमति नहीं दी जाती थी, और उन्हें सती जैसी क्रूर प्रथा का पालन करना पड़ता था---यानी जब किसी स्त्री का पति मर जाता था तब उस स्त्री को अपने मृत पति के शव के साथ चिता में जल जाना पड़ता था।

जाति-प्रथा ने ब्राह्मणों द्वारा नियंत्रित हिंदू धर्म को एक जटिल और विस्तृत धर्म का रूप दे दिया। आरंभिक आर्यों का धर्म एक सरल, आनंदपूर्ण और स्वस्थ धर्म था, जिसमें ईश्वर के प्रति इस बात के लिए कृतज्ञता का भाव था कि उसने उन्हें उपजाऊ गंगा की घाटी का रास्ता दिखाया था। यह धर्म साहचर्यता की भावना से परिपूर्ण था, भविष्य के लिए आशा से भरा हुआ था। कालांतर में धर्म की यह स्पष्टता कर्मकांड और अत्यंत अस्पष्ट दार्शनिक धारणाओं के कोहरे के कारण धुँधली पड़ गई। ब्राह्मणों को इन कर्मकांडों और दार्शनिक कल्पनाओं का ज्ञान होना जरूरी था, और इस अनन्य ज्ञान के कारण वे एक ऐसा श्रेष्ठ वर्ग बन गए जिसकी श्रेष्ठता में कोई शंका नहीं कर सकता था। जैसा कि अलग-अलग समयों पर अन्य देशों में भी हुआ है, इस प्रकार के रवैये का परिणाम यह हुआ कि अन्य जातियों ने इसके विरुद्ध रोष और विरोध प्रकट किया। युवा लोगों---गौतम बुद्ध से लेकर स्वामी विवेकानंद तक---द्वारा किए गए इसी प्रकार के विरोधों ने हिंदू धर्म और भारतीय समाज के शरीर को स्वस्थ बनाए रखा है।

सबसे प्रबल विरोध का नेतृत्व छठी शताब्दी में दो व्यक्तियों ने किया जो समकालीन थे और देश के दो भिन्न भागों में रहते थे। ये थे महावीर और गौतम बुद्ध। महावीर का विरोध जाति पर आधारित वर्ग-भेद के विरुद्ध था। उनका कहना था कि सभी मनुष्य समान हैं; वस्तुतः सभी जीवधारी वस्तुएँ समान हैं। उन्होंने एक अधिक करुणामय जीवन व्यतीत करने का उपदेश किया जिसमें कोई व्यक्ति किसी प्राणी की हत्या न करे। यह हद दरजे की अहिंसा थी, और इसका स्वाभाविक परिणाम यह हुआ कि महावीर और अन्य जैन संतों का प्रभाव सीमित रहा। बुद्ध ने भी

जाति-प्रथा का विरोध किया और संयमपूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करने का उपदेश किया, जिसमें न बहुत भोग-विलास हो और न बहुत कठोर सादगी । बुद्ध ने जिस धर्म का उपदेश किया था, उस धर्म की अपनी प्रारंभिक अवस्था में बहुत सीमित प्रभाव-कारिता थी क्योंकि वह लगभग गैर-धार्मिक था––उसका उद्देश्य जन्म-मृत्यु के चक्र से मुक्ति पाना था, स्वर्ग-प्राप्ति और ईश्वर के दर्शन पाना नही। इस तथ्य के बावजूद कि धर्म के रूप मे न तो जैन धर्म और न बुद्ध धर्म ही व्यापक हो पाए, इन दोनों धर्मो मे एक समान तत्व ऐसा था जिसने उन्हें जनता में लोकप्रिय बना दिया। वह यह था कि इन दोनो सुधारकों ने अपने उपदेश पाली भाषा में किए जो जनता के लिए सुबोध भाषा थी, न कि ब्राह्मणों द्वारा प्रयुक्त होनेवाली संस्कृत भाषा में। हिंदू धर्म को इन नए संप्रदायों से जो खतरा उत्पन्न हुआ उसका एक अप्रत्यक्ष परिणाम यह हुआ कि हिंदू ब्राह्मणों ने अपने धर्म मे से ऐसी चीजो को निकालने का प्रयत्न किया जो निरर्थक और शुद्ध कर्मकांडी थीं। नव हिंदू धर्म के एक सबसे प्रतिभाशाली नेता थे शंकराचार्य। उन्होंने अनुयायी बनाने के लिए सार्वजनिक रूप से शास्त्रार्थ करने और सेवा कार्य करने के बौद्ध उपदेशकों के तरीके का अनुकरण किया।

भारत में इस्लाम का प्रवेश जैन और बौद्ध धर्मो के उद्भव से ज्यादा नाटकीय था। यह स्वाभाविक ही था क्योंकि इस्लाम एक विदेशी धर्म और जीवन का एक नया तरीका था, जब कि जैन और बौद्ध धर्मो का उद्भव भारतीय समाज के भीतर से हुआ था। इस्लाम कई लहरो में भारत पहुँचा––दक्षिण तटवर्ती प्रदेश में वह सातवीं शताब्दी में, उत्तर-पश्चिमी भारत में आठवी शताब्दी में, और भारत के उत्तरी मैदानों में तेरहवीं शताब्दी और उसके बाद के वर्षो में। भारत के मुस्लिम विजेता अपने से पहले के विजेताओं से इस अर्थ में भिन्न थे कि वे न केवल अपने साथ बड़ी-बडी फौजें लाए, बल्कि अपना एक धर्म भी लाए और साथ लाए एक बहुत विकसित संस्कृति।

आज भी धर्म के रूप में इस्लाम धर्म हिंदू धर्म से काफी भिन्न है, हालांकि इन दोनों ने एक दूसरे के रीति-रिवाजों और त्यौहारों को आत्मसात करके अपने को समृद्ध किया है। इस प्रकार के आत्मसात का सबसे अच्छा उदाहरण सूफी पीर हैं।

सूफी लोग मुसलमान रहस्यवादी संत थे जिन्होंने बौद्धों और जैनों की भाँति, जो उनके समय से बहुत पहले हुए थे, धर्म में अत्यधिक कर्मकाड तथा धर्म की अलोचनीयता के विरुद्ध तथा धर्म को राजनीति में मिलाने के विरुद्ध विद्रोह कर दिया था। उनका कहना था कि साधारण जनता को धर्म समझाने के लिए मुल्ला-मौलवियों का होना जरूरी नही है, और व्यक्ति तथा ईश्वर के बीच का सूत्र, प्रेम का सूत्र होना चाहिए। उत्तरी भारत में इन सूफियों के हिंदू और मुसलमान, दोनों ही अनुयायी बने। इन्होने ज्यादा अधिक अप्रत्यक्ष रूप में दोनों धर्मो को निकट लाने में सहायता की—अर्थात उन्होंने हिंदू धर्म में चल रहे इसी प्रकार के भक्ति और समतावादी आंदोलन को प्रभावित किया। यह आंदोलन था भक्तिमार्गी आदोलन जो अलवारों और नयन्नारों के संप्रदाय के साथ दक्षिण भारत मे छठी शताब्दी में आरंभ हुआ और पंद्रहवीं तथा सोलहवीं शताब्दी में अपने चरमोत्कर्ष पर पहुँच गया। यह कहना ज्यादा सही होगा कि यह एक आंदोलन नहीं, बल्कि एकाधिक आंदोलन थे क्योंकि यह विभिन्न समयों में भारत के विभिन्न भागों में प्रस्फुटित हुआ और फैला। पहले के जैन और बौद्ध संतों की भाँति ही सूफियों और भक्तिमार्गी संतों ने अपने उपदेश का प्रचार संस्कृत मे नहीं बल्कि क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में किया—अलवारों और नयन्नारों ने तमिल में, चैतन्य और चंडीदास ने बंगला में, मीराबाई ने राजस्थानी में, नामदेव ने मराठी में, रामानंद, कबीर और नानक ने अपभ्रंश और प्राकृत में। इन सुधारकों में से कबीर और नानक ने हिंदू धर्म और इस्लाम के अच्छे गुणों को लेकर उन्हें एक धर्म मे मिलाने की कोशिश की। नानक की उपलब्धि अमर रही—उन्होंने सिख धर्म की स्थापना की।

धार्मिक स्तर पर संपर्क होने के सिवा सामान्यत. मुसलमान और हिंदू लोग मिल-जुल कर रहते थे। जबर्दस्ती मुसलमान बनाने के कुछ मामले होते थे, लेकिन ऐसा किसी असहिष्णु शासक के आदेश पर ही किया जाता था। मुसलमान चूँकि अल्पसंख्या में थे, अत: यदि भारत में स्थायी रूप से रहना था तो उन्हें उसी कारणवश बहुसंख्यक हिंदुओं के साथ मैत्रीपूर्ण सबंध बनाकर रखना जरूरी था। समय के साथ-साथ मुसलमानों की संख्या में वृद्धि हुई। इस वृद्धि का कारण यह था कि तुर्क और अफगान

सैनिकों ने स्थानीय हिंदू स्त्रियों से विवाह किया; साथ ही, समय-समय पर भारत में न केवल विजेता आक्रामक सेनाएं ही आईं बल्कि अफगानिस्तान से उखाड़ फेंके गए कबीले भी शरण लेने के लिए भारत में आए। कुछ महत्वाकांक्षी हिंदुओं ने इस आशा से स्वेच्छा से भी इस्लाम धर्म कबूल कर लिया कि इससे उन्हें राजनीतिक पद मिलने का ज्यादा मौका रहेगा। बाहर से आनेवाले अधिकांश मुसलमान शहरों में रहते थे और या तो राजनीतिक पदों पर थे या कोई व्यापार अथवा धंधा करते थे। यहाँ हिंदू-मुसलमानों के बीच का अंतर ज्यादा महत्व नहीं रखता था, पेशे और धंधे का अंतर ही वास्तविक महत्व का था। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के मुसलमान ज्यादातर वे लोग थे जिन्हें मुसलमान बना लिया गया था। ये लोग बाहर से आए हुए मुसलमान नहीं थे। ये लोग धर्म-परिवर्तन के बाद भी हिंदू समाज के बीच, जिसके कि वे पहले सदस्य हुआ करते थे, रहते रहे। गाँवों की अपेक्षा शहरों में इस्लाम धर्म का प्रभाव ज्यादा स्पष्ट था——लेकिन दोनों जगहों पर भोजन की नई आदतें और नई वेश-भूषा की शैली दिखाई पड़ी। दोनों धर्मों के सह-अस्तित्व का एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण प्रभाव यह हुआ कि दोनों जातियों के उच्चवर्ग की महिलाएं अलग जीवन व्यतीत करने लगीं और उत्तर तथा पूर्वी भारत में पर्दे का रिवाज आम हो गया।

इस्लाम के आगमन जैसा ही महत्वपूर्ण, और उससे अनेक दृष्टियों से भिन्न था——भारत में ईसाई धर्म और यूरोपीय सभ्यता का प्रभाव। ईसाई धर्म यूरोप पहुँचने से काफी पहले ही भारत पहुँच चुका था। कुछ ईसाई मिशनरी पहली सदी ईसवी में केरल के तट पर आए थे। आज भी दक्षिण भारत में ईसाइयों की एक ऐसी जाति है जिनके पूर्वजों ने सबसे पहले ईसाई धर्म कबूल किया था। इसके काफी समय बीत जाने के बाद ईसाई धर्म फिर से भारत में आया। अबकी बार के ईसाई मिशनरी सोलहवीं शताब्दी में पुर्तगाल, हालैंड, डेनमार्क, फ्रांस और ब्रिटेन के व्यापारियों के साथ भारत आए। इस्लाम के मुकाबले ईसाई धर्म का प्रभाव गौण था, धर्म-परिवर्तन करके ईसाई होनेवालों की संख्या अपेक्षाकृत कम थी। इसका मुख्य कारण यह था कि

यूरोपीय लोग भारत में उस प्रकार नहीं बसे जिस प्रकार कि मुसलमान प्रवासी आकर बस गए थे। तथापि इस्लाम की भाँति ही ईसाई धर्म ने भारत की धार्मिक विचार-धारा को प्रभावित किया। इसे (१८२८ में) ब्राह्म समाज की स्थापना में स्पष्ट देखा जा सकता है। इसकी स्थापना राजा राममोहन राय के नेतृत्व मे भारतीयों के एक समूह ने की थी। इसका उद्देश्य वैदिक हिंदू धर्म को पुनरुज्जीवित करना तथा हिंदू धर्म में ईसाई धर्म की सर्वोत्तम पूजा-विधि को सम्मिलित करना था तथा विभिन्न धर्मो की समानता को भारतीयों के सामने स्पष्ट करना था।

पश्चिमी सभ्यता का सामाजिक प्रभाव उसके धार्मिक पहलू की अपेक्षा ज्यादा क्रांतिकारी था। ब्राह्म-समाज की स्थापना करनेवालों की यह भी इच्छा थी कि वे अंग्रेजी सीखें और यूरोप में चल रहे बौद्धिक आंदोलनों और यूरोपीय समाज के स्वरूप को समझें। अमरीका का स्वातंत्र्य-युद्ध (१७७६) और फ्रांसीसी क्रांति (१७८९) विभिन्न देशों के निवासियों द्वारा राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता और सामाजिक समानता प्राप्त करने के सबसे पहले आदोलन थे। ऐसे आंदोलन भारत में अज्ञात थे जहाँ कि जनता के अधिकांश भाग ने कभी उस वर्ग-विभाजन के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाने और सामाजिक समानता की माँग करने की कोशिश ही नही की थी जिसमें कि वे पैदा हुए थे। एक तरीका जिसके जरिए विचारशील भारतीयो ने उन्नीसवी शताब्दी मे अपने देशवासियों को जागृत करने और समाज के आधुनिकीकरण की कोशिश की वह था धर्म का शुद्धीकरण तथा समाज मे जो बुराइयाँ पनप गई थी उनका उमूलन। राममोहन राय का ब्राह्म-समाज, सैयद अहमद खाँ का अलीगढ आंदोलन (जो १८७५ में आरंभ किया गया था), रानाडे द्वारा चलाया गया प्रार्थना समाज, दयानंद के नेतृत्व में आरंभ किया गया आर्य समाज आंदोलन, रामकृष्ण द्वारा प्रेरित और उनके शिष्य विवेकानंद द्वारा प्रचारित-प्रसारित सामाजिक सेवा आंदोलन—ये सब सोए हुए भारतीय समाज को जगाने के प्रयास थे। यह बात दिलचस्प है कि संस्कृत और फारसी की शिक्षा की बजाय पश्चिमी कला और विज्ञान की शिक्षा अंग्रेजी भाषा मे देने की माँग अंग्रेजों की

ओर से नहीं बल्कि राममोहन राय की तरफ से आई जो स्वयं एक भारतीय थे और जिन्हे प्राचीन भाषाओं के अलावा आधुनिक भाषाओं पर पूरा अधिकार था। पश्चिमी शिक्षा ने भारतीयों को वे उदार और लोकतांत्रिक विचार समझने में मदद की जो तत्कालीन यूरोपीय समाज का स्वरूप निर्धारित कर रहे थे।

पश्चिमी शिक्षा और विचारों ने भारत के एक छोटे से वर्ग को प्रभावित किया। शेष समाज ने भी यूरोपीय शासन का प्रभाव महसूस किया, लेकिन दूसरे रूपों में। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में ब्रिटिश सरकार ने आग्रह किया कि लगान एक ही बार में पूरा-पूरा चुकता किया जाना चाहिए जो कि कुछ ज्यादा गरीब किसान नही कर सके। अतः वे गाँव छोड़कर और किसी रोजगार की तलाश में शहरों की ओर निकल पडे। दूसरे, ब्रिटिश भारत में १८३३ के बाद कुछ ऐसी नौकरियाँ थीं जो भार-

गांवों में खेती करना छोड़, बाहर निकले हुए श्रमिक—चट्टानों को तोड़ते हुए

तीयों को दी जाती थीं। इसने सफेदपोश कर्मचारियों का एक अलग वर्ग पैदा किया जिसके सदस्य विभिन्न जातियों के थे और प्रांतों के रहनेवाले थे लेकिन जिनमे यह समानता थी कि वे सभी अंग्रेजी जानते थे और सभी ब्रिटिश सरकार के नौकर थे। तीसरे, १८५४ में रेलों के निर्माण के साथ-साथ इन श्रमिकों और क्लर्कों तथा व्यापारियों के लिए एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान को आना-जाना ज्यादा सरल हो गया। यह भौतिक आवागमनीयता देश के विभिन्न प्रांतों के लोगों

रेल-लाइन बिछाने के काम में लगी हुई मजदूरिनें

को परस्पर ज्यादा करीब लाई और साथ ही उसने वर्ग-भेद का महत्व कम कर दिया। एक और तत्व था जिसने जाति और विश्वास का भेद किए

बिना भारत के लोगों में और अधिक ऐक्य स्थापित किया। यह तत्व जिसका उद्देश्य ब्रिटिश सरकार की सेवा नही, बल्कि उसका विरोध करना था, राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता और एकीकरण का वह आंदोलन था जिसका कि हम आगे एक अध्याय में उल्लेख करेंगे।

सार्वजनिक आचरण की एक अत्यंत उत्तम घोषणा स्वतंत्र भारत के संविधान में मिलती है। इसमें अन्य चीजों के अलावा कहा गया है कि भारत एक धर्म-निरपेक्ष राज्य होगा--अर्थात, सभी धर्मों और जातियों के भारतीय एक समान माने जाएंगे। यह उचित ही है कि हमारा संविधान जो कि देश का सर्वोच्च कानून है--सहिष्णुता की भावना की उद्घोषणा और परिपुष्टि करे जो कि भारत की युगों पुरानी परंपरा है। लेकिन घोषणा तो आरंभ मात्र है। इसमें व्यक्त इच्छा को स्वत. पूरा कर लेने की जादुई ताकत नही है। भारत को सच्चे अर्थ में धर्म-निरपेक्ष और वास्तव में लोक-तांत्रिक बनाने का काम कुछ ऐसा नही है जो एक दिन में, पूरा हो जाए। हममें से प्रत्येक को, अपने-अपने अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों में प्रतिदिन संविधान के आदर्शों को कार्यान्वित करने की कोशिश करनी है। हमें इस बात का बहुत सावधानी से ख्याल रखना चाहिए कि अपने धर्म या अपनी ही जाति के किसी व्यक्ति के प्रति पक्षपात की भावना के कारण हमारे निर्णय और हमारे विचार विकृत या संकुचित न होने पाएँ। ऐसा कर सकना हमेशा आसान नही होता, लेकिन यह चीज अत्यंत आवश्यक है। एक और सबक है जो भारतीय समाज के इतिहास के अध्ययन से हमें मिलता है--वह यह कि हमे विश्व की तरफ अपनी खिड़की खुली रखनी चाहिए और अन्य लोगों तथा अन्य देशों ने जो बौद्धिक और वैज्ञानिक प्रगति की है उसे सीखने को हमें सदैव उत्सुक रहना चाहिए। कोई भी देश अलग-थलग रहकर प्रगति नहीं कर सकता। जब-जब भारत के लोग दुनिया से बेखबर, केवल अपने ही में खोए रहे हैं तब-तब वे सबसे कमजोर रहे है। अगर आप अखबार पढते है तो आप देखेंगे कि कुल मिलाकर देखने पर ऐसे राष्ट्र भी जरूर हैं जो स्वार्थवश ही कोई काम करते हैं, लेकिन दूसरी ओर दुनिया के लोगों और राष्ट्रों में एक-दूसरे के निकट आने की इच्छा भी है, एक-दूसरे के साथ सह-

योग करने और अपना स्वार्थ छोडकर दूसरे की सहायता करने की इच्छा भी है। केवल ऐसा करने से ही तीसरे विश्व-युद्ध की संभावना को टाला जा सकता है। विश्व-शांति और सहयोग की भारत की अपील अन्य देश तभी सुनेंगे जब औरों को यह दिखाई पडेगा कि हमारे अपने देश में वही सहयोग और समानता की भावना मौजूद है।

## ३—हमारी संस्कृति

*"मैं नहीं चाहता कि मेरे घर के चारो ओर दीवारे खडी कर दी जाएँ और उसकी खिड़कियाँ बंद कर दी जाएँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सभी देशो की संस्कृतियों का सुरभित समीर मेरे घर में और चारो ओर यथासंभव अधिक-से-अधिक मुक्त रूप से बह सके।"*

——महात्मा गांधी

हम देख चुके हैं कि भारतीय समाज विभिन्न कालो मे भारत में प्रवेश करने-वाली विभिन्न संस्कृतियों के प्रभावों के प्रति हुई प्रतिक्रियाओं का परिणाम है। इन प्रतिक्रियाओं की गहराई का अंदाजा साहित्य, संगीत और ललित कलाओं से, जो मनुष्य की भावनाओं और रचनात्मक वृत्तियों को अभिव्यक्ति देते हैं, लगाया जा सकता है। वहुत हाल तक भारतीय समाज की ही भाँति इन कलाओं पर भी धर्म का गहरा प्रभाव था। कलाओं की एक दूसरी सामान्य विशेषता यह है कि उनका भाग्य किसी हद तक राजाओं तथा राजदरबारों द्वारा दिए गए संरक्षण पर निर्भर रहा। यह बात विशेष-कर वास्तु-कला और मूर्ति-कला पर लागू होती है, क्योंकि ये दोनों कलाएँ बहुत व्यय साध्य है। चित्रकारी, संगीत और साहित्य का, विशेषकर इनके लोकप्रिय रूपों का विकास स्वतंत्र रूप से भी हो सकता था और ये सामान्य जनों के समर्थन और उत्साह के बल पर जीवित रह सकते थे और फूल-फल सकते थे। ये दो विशेषताएँ——धर्म से निकट का सबंध और राज-सरक्षण पर निर्भरता——दूसरे देशों की कलाओं में भी देखने को मिलती हैं। किंतु भारत और यूरोपीय देशों के बीच एक बहुत बड़ा

फर्क यह है कि जाति-प्रथा के कारण भारत में शिक्षा उतनी अधिक नहीं फैली जितनी कि आधुनिक यूरोप में फैली है। आज भी बहुत-से भारतीय अनपढ़ है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि अतीत में हमारी सांस्कृतिक संपदाओं का उपभोग उतने विस्तृत पैमाने पर नही किया गया जितने विस्तृत पैमाने पर आज किया जा रहा है।

भारतीय साहित्य समन्वय और पारस्परिक प्रभाव का एक सुंदर उदाहरण है। जिस प्रकार हम किसी को 'विशुद्ध' आर्य या 'विशुद्ध' द्रविड़ नहीं कह सकते, उसी प्रकार हम किसी भी भारतीय भाषा को 'विशुद्ध' नहीं कह सकते, क्योंकि वे सभी अनेक प्रभावों की उपज हैं। भारतीय साहित्य की धारा द्रविड, संस्कृत और फारसी, इन तीनों मुख्य स्रोतों के संयोग से बनी हैं और इसके अतिरिक्त इसने अंग्रेजी साहित्य का पुष्कल प्रभाव ग्रहण किया है।

लिखित रूप में जो साहित्य उपलब्ध है उसमें सबसे प्राचीन संस्कृत का साहित्य है। सच तो यह है कि वेद संसार के प्राचीनतम साहित्य हैं। वेद शब्द 'विद (जानना) धातु से बना है और यह नाम बहुत उपयुक्त भी है, क्योंकि वेदों में प्राचीन आर्यो के भारत-विषयक ज्ञान का भंडार भरा हुआ है। फिर लेखन कला के सुविकसित होने पर सस्कृत-साहित्य का भी विकास होने लगा और अंत मे इसने ससार की क्लासिकल भाषाओं में एक उच्च स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया। इसमें तरह-तरह के साहित्य लिखे गए--- सूक्ष्म तत्व-चितन किया गया, सुंदर महाकाव्यो की रचना की गई, राजनीति-शास्त्र, व्याकरण, नाटक तथा गीतिकाव्य, सब कुछ लिखे गए। इस्लाम के आगमन के बाद जब सरकारी भाषा के रूप में फारसी का प्रयोग प्रारंभ हुआ तब भी सस्कृत भाषा लुप्त नहीं हुई। सच तो यह है कि बहुत-से मुसलमान शासक भी संस्कृत के अध्ययन का आनंद उठाते थे और उन्होंने उसे संरक्षण प्रदान किया। इसके ह्रास का मुख्य कारण दूसरी सरल भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास था।

उत्तर में संस्कृत का बोल-बाला था और दक्षिण मे तमिल तथा अन्य द्रविड़ बोलियां सुंदर भाषाओं के रूप में विकसित हो रही थीं। दक्षिण में हमें जिस प्राचीनतम साहित्य की जानकारी है वह है ईस्वी सन की प्रारंभिक शताब्दियों का तमिल संगम

साहित्य। तमिल लगभग विशुद्ध रूप से द्रविड़ भाषा थी। शेष तीनों भाषाओं--कन्नड़, तेलुगु और मलयाली--में संस्कृत के भी पर्याप्त तत्व विद्यमान थे। ये भाषाएं विशेषरूप से नवी शताब्दी से फूल-फल रही थीं--आंध्र प्रदेश में तेलुगु, मैसूर मे कन्नड़, जिसका चलन जैनों के बीच अधिक था, और उससे भी पूर्व से केरल में मलयाली। प्राकृत तथा संस्कृत के मिश्रण से निकली मराठी भाषा भी इस काल में यादव राजाओं के संरक्षण में विकसित हुई। पूरब में सेनवंश के राजाओं के शासन-काल में बंगला एक परिपक्व भाषा बन चुकी थी। गुजराती का प्रयोग जैन संत करते थे; पद्रहवीं शताब्दी मे शकरदेव ने असमिया को लोकप्रिय बनाया; और साथ ही बिहार में मैथिली तथा राजस्थान में राजस्थानी का विकास हो रहा था।

फारसी भाषा भारत के मुसलमान शासकों की देन थी। वह न केवल राज-भाषा थी, बल्कि भारत में उस भाषा में बहुत अच्छे साहित्य का भी सृजन हुआ। भारत में फारसी के एक बहुत ही प्रतिभा-संपन्न लेखक अमीर खुसरो थे। फारसी के प्रयोग का एक परिणाम यह हुआ कि उत्तर भारत की भाषाओं के शब्द-भंडार बहुत समृद्ध हो गए। दो अन्य अपेक्षाकृत अधिक महत्वपूर्ण भाषाएँ हिंदी और उर्दू थी। हिंदी का विकास तेरहवीं सदी से आरंभ हुआ और उर्दू भाषा हिंदी तथा अरबी-फारसी के मिश्रण से पैदा हुई और विकसित हुई। ये तथा अन्य भाषाएँ लोक-व्यवहार और भजनों तथा गाथा-काव्यों की भाषाएं थीं।

पिछली शताब्दी में भारत में एक दूसरी राज-भाषा आरंभ हुई--वह थी अंग्रेजी। अंग्रेजी भारत के लिए बहुत ही विलक्षण ढंग की भाषा थी और भारत मे ब्रिटिश-राज्य बहुत दीर्घ काल तक नहीं रह पाया। इसलिए यहाँ के लोग अंग्रेजी को फारसी की तरह आत्मसात नही कर पाए। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि अंग्रेजी के पास भारतीय साहित्य को देने को कुछ था ही नहीं; अंग्रेजी साहित्य और उसमें अनूदित यूरोपीय भाषाओं की कृतियाँ हमारे सामने साहित्य के नए आयाम प्रस्तुत करती हैं। यह साहित्य तरह-तरह के विषयों पर लिखा गया है, जिनमें से कई का हमारे देश में अधिक विकास नहीं हुआ है---विशेष रूप से विविध विज्ञान और राजनीतिक

दर्शन के विभिन्न पहलुओं के बारे में। आज भी, जब हम पर अंग्रेजों का शासन नही रह गया है, अंग्रेजी एक ऐसा मूल्यवान वातायन बनी हुई है जिसके जरिए हम बाहर की दुनिया को देख सकते हैं।

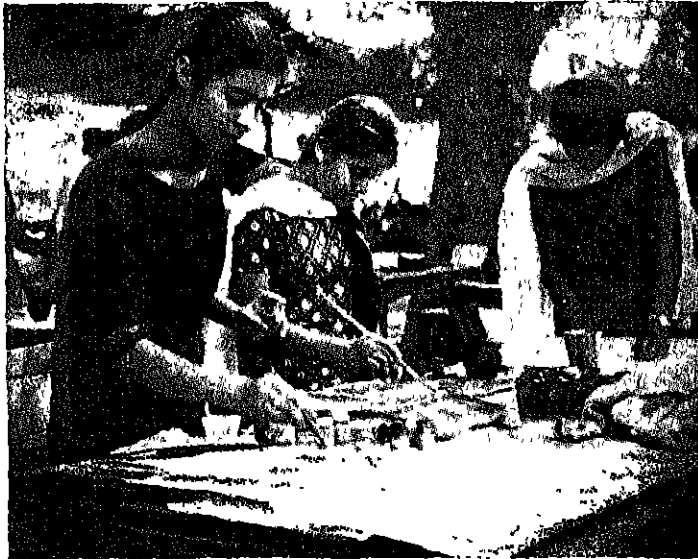
साहित्यिक कृतियों की अपेक्षा कला-कृतियाँ ज्यादा आसानी से नष्ट हो जाया करती हैं। यही कारण है कि प्राचीन काल की इतनी कम चित्र-कला कृतियाँ शेष रही है। प्राचीन काल की जो कलाकृतियाँ हमारे समय तक बची रही है वे है अजता, बाघ और सितनवासल की गुफाओं के भित्तिचित्र। इनमें से अजंता और बाघ के चित्र गुप्त-काल में बनाए गए थे और सितनवासल के चित्र पल्लव राजाओं के शासनकाल में बनाए गए थे। इनसे पता चलता है कि इस काल तक चित्र-कला का काफी अधिक विकास हो चुका होगा। इन सभी में चमकीले रंगो और सशक्त बाह्य-रेखाओं का जैसा प्रयोग किया गया है वह गहन प्रशिक्षण के बाद ही सभव हो सकता था। दुर्भाग्यवश प्राचीन भारतीय चित्र-कला के बारे में हम अभी भी अंधकार में है और ये गुफा-चित्र ही उस

अधकार में कुछ प्रकाश की किरणें फेंकते है। अजता के चित्र भव्यता और विराटता का बोध कराते है और उनकी रेखाएँ सशक्त है। इसके विपरीत सूक्ष्म चित्र अत्यंत छोटे होते थे और उनकी प्रत्येक रेखा मे सावधानी भरी हुई थी। अजता के चित्रों में रंग को बड़े क्षेत्र में फैलाया गया है। लेकिन सूक्ष्म चित्र एक रत्न की तरह चमकदार

बहुरंगी रंगों में चमकते थे। अजंता के चित्रकारों ने बौद्ध आख्यानों को अपना विषय बनाया था। सूक्ष्म चित्रकारी की कला मुगल दरबार मे फारस और मध्य एशिया से आई थी। यह चित्र शैली अन्य जगहों पर भी अपनाई गई, और अठारहवी शताब्दी मे सूक्ष्म-चित्रण की अलग-अलग शैलियाँ कॉंगडा, राजस्थान और टिहरी-गढ़वाल में विकसित हुई जिनमें धार्मिक तथा गैर-धार्मिक विषयों का, दृश्य-चित्रो तथा संगीत के रागों का चित्रण किया गया।

पिछली शताब्दी में बँगला चित्र-कला शैली का जन्म हुआ जिसने न केवल भारतीय बल्कि पाश्चात्य तकनीकों से प्रेरणा ग्रहण की। इस शैली के चित्रकारो ने वाटरकलर मे संवेदनशील और वास्तविक विषयो का हलके रगों में चित्रण किया।

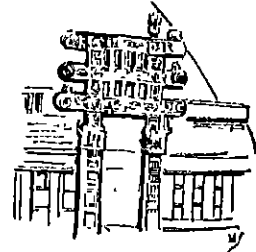
पिछले एक सौ वर्षों में पाश्चात्य चित्र-कला बहुत तेजी से बहुत ढंग की शैलियों के दौर से गुजरी है। भारतीय चित्रकारों पर इन सबका बहुत जबर्दस्त प्रभाव पड़ा है। आज भारतीय चित्रकारों के सामने एक अत्यंत उत्तेजक जगत खोजने को पड़ा है। प्रत्येक चित्रकार के सामने अनेक आधुनिक यूरोपीय और परंपरागत भारतीय शैलियाँ बिखरी पड़ी है और वह इनमें से अपनी पसंद की शैली

चुन सकता है। अब हम केवल 'भारतीय चित्र-कला की बात नहीं कर सकते भारतीय कला आज विश्व-कला का एक अंग मात्र है।

अपने काम में लगे हुए युवा चित्रकार

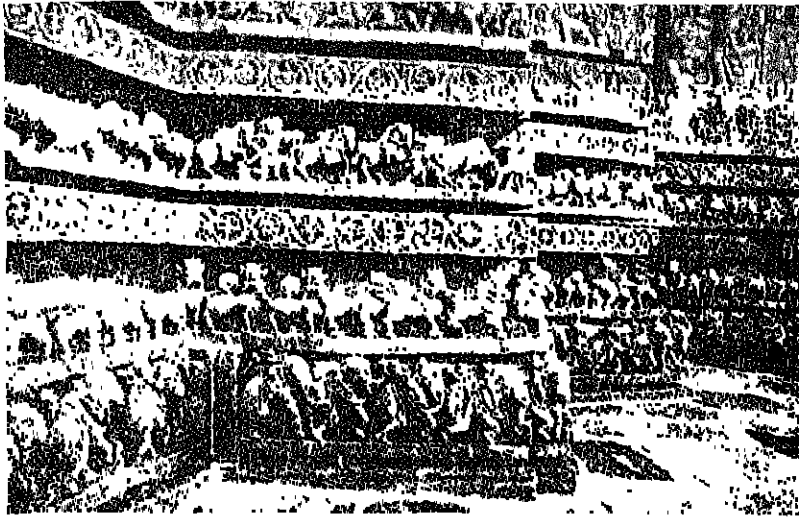
चित्र-कला की अपेक्षा मूर्ति-कला और वास्तु-कला के क्षेत्र में समय-समय पर होनेवाले विभिन्न शैलियों के मिश्रण को ज्यादा स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है। पत्थर भी बोल सकते हैं, और भवनों तथा मूर्तियों के बिखरे हुए भग्नावशेषों के आधार पर हम एक कथा गढ़ सकते हैं। प्राचीन अवशेषों पर एक नजर डालिए, समकालीन यात्रियों द्वारा दिए गए विवरणों को पढ़िए, उसमें थोड़ी कल्पना जोड़ दीजिए और उसके बाद ये प्राचीन अवशेष, जब बनाए गए थे तब कैसे थे, इसकी एक तस्वीर

आप अपने दिमाग में खींच सकते हैं। आप भारतीय मूर्ति-कला और वास्तु कला की कुछ शैलियों और अन्य देशों की शैलियों की समानताएं भी तब देख सकेंगे।

हमारे पूर्वजों को जो भी सामग्री मिली, उसी को उन्होंने गढ़ा और ढाला--चाहे वह लकड़ी हो, ईंट हो, पत्थर हो या धातु हो। धातु और प्रस्तर-शिल्प तो बच रहे है, लेकिन ईंटों और लकड़ी पर की गई कलाकारियों के नमूने समय के साथ नष्ट हो गए है। जब कोई शक्तिशाली राजा किसी महल या मंदिर का निर्माण कराने का इरादा करता था तब अच्छी-से-अच्छी सामग्री और अच्छे-से-अच्छे शिल्पियों को एकत्र करने में कोई कसर नही उठा रखी जाती थी, और यही कारण है कि जो भी चीज बनाई जाती थी वह विशाल पैमाने पर होती थी। अधिकांश ऐसी रचनाओं की प्रेरणा और उद्देश्य धार्मिक होता था, वे केवल कला-कृति मात्र नहीं होती थी। हालांकि इस प्रेरणा का स्रोत भारतीय धर्म होता था, लेकिन भारतीय वास्तु-कला और मूर्ति-कला ने अन्य देशों की शैलियों के अनेक तत्वों को अपनाया और इसके बदले में अन्य देशों की शैलियों को प्रभावित किया।

भारतीय मूर्ति-कला इतनी सुदर और विविध है कि सक्षेप में उसकी चर्चा करके उसके साथ न्याय नहीं किया जा सकता। इसलिए हम संक्षेप में कुछ उदाहरण देकर यह बताएँगे कि वे कौन-कौन प्रभाव हैं जिन्होंने भारतीय मूर्ति-कला को स्वरूप प्रदान किया। मौर्य काल में उत्तर भारत में फारसी और पश्चिमी एशियाई प्रभाव बहुत गहरे थे। इन्हें अशोक द्वारा अपने स्तंभों पर निर्मित पशु-आकृतियों में देखा जा सकता है। इसी

प्रभाव को जरा ज्यादा दबी हुई हालत में सांची के स्तूप जैसी कृतियों मे देखा जा सकता है। यह स्तूप, अन्य कृतियों की भांति ही, पश्चिमी एशियाई कला के साथ संबध स्थापित करता है, लेकिन साथ ही यह द्रविड़ों की कब्रों के दूहों का एक सुविकसित रूप है जिसमे प्रस्तर में गढ़ी हुई बुद्ध-संबंधी कथाएं जोड़ दी गई हैं। हम यहाँ रचनाओं का विवरण देने की स्थिति में नही हैं, लेकिन हमने सांची का उदाहरण दे दिया है जो आपको उन विभिन्न सूत्रों को पकड़ने में मदद कर सकता है जिनसे मिलकर भारतीय मूर्ति-कला का ताना-बाना बुना गया है। एक अन्य असाधारण बाह्य प्रभाव कश्मीर में अवंतिपुर की वास्तु कला और गांधार (यह क्षेत्र, जो अब आंशिक रूप से अफगानिस्तान और आंशिक रूप से पाकिस्तान में पडता है, किसी समय उत्तर भारत का एक स्वतंत्र राज्य था) की बुद्ध की मूर्तियों में देखा जा सकता है। ये कृतियाँ एशिया माइनर और रोम की यूनानी कला से प्रेरित थीं, विशेषरूप से मूर्ति पर अवधारित ढीले और लटकते हुए वस्त्रों की रेखाओं की दृष्टि से। कालांतर में ये विदेशी प्रभाव

कोणार्क के सूर्य-मंदिर का प्रसिद्ध चक्र

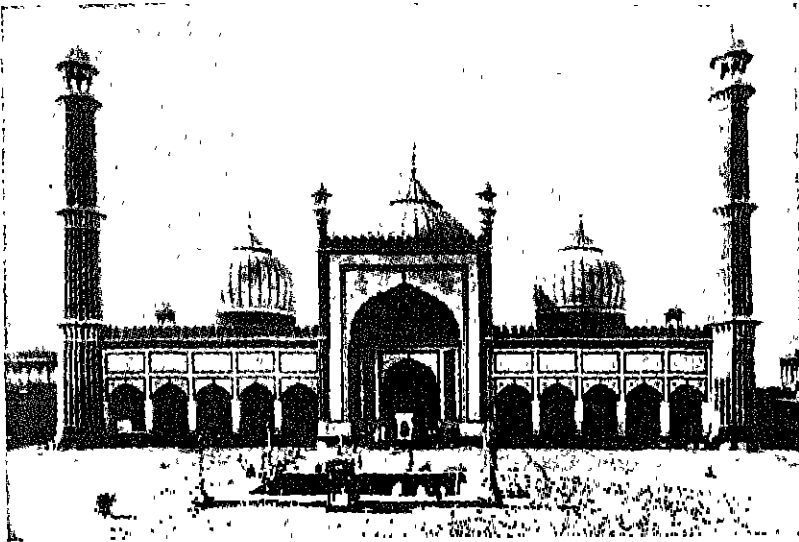
कम होते गए और भारतीय शैलियों का स्वतंत्र विकास होने लगा। उड़ीसा में भुवनेश्वर, कोणार्क और पुरी तथा मध्य प्रदेश में खजुराहो के अद्भुत, मंदिरों को देखिए, और राजस्थान से लेकर काँगड़ा में बैजनाथ तक चले जाइए--

मैसूर राज्य के हेलाबिड के एक मंदिर में उत्कीर्ण कलाकृतियां

आप देखेंगे ऊँचे-ऊँचे शिखर और मंदिरों के बाहर का सुविस्तृत प्रस्तर-शिल्प और मंदिरों के अंदर की गरिमापूर्ण सादगी--जो कि उत्तर भारत की शिल्प-शैली की विशिष्टताएँ हैं। तनिक नीचे, दक्षिण की ओर जाने पर आपको एक विभिन्न शैली के दर्शन होते हैं--हेलाबिड और श्रवण बेलागोला की दक्कन शैली जिसे राजस्थान में माउंट आबू में भी देखा जा सकता है--नीची छत वाले

भवन, जिनमे बाहर बारीक कसीदेकारी जैसी खूबसूरत डिजाइनें और स्तभो पर लंबी-लंबी दीर्घाएँ बनी हुई हैं। इन दोनों शैलियों में दिखाई पड़नेवाली प्रस्तर-कला को दक्षिण की द्रविड़ शिल्प-कला में भी देखा जा सकता है, लेकिन यहाँ हम पाते हैं कि मुख्य द्वार-पथों और शिखरों की ऊँचाई असाधारण है—मदुरै का मीनाक्षी मंदिर इसका प्रभावकारी उदाहरण है। इसके स्तभों पर आधारित दीर्घाएं रामेश्वरम के मंदिर की भाँति अधिक लंबी और शानदार हैं। भारतीय शैलियाँ—हिंदू और बौद्ध शैलियाँ—बर्मा, स्याम, कबोडिया और इडोनेशिया तक पहुचो। अङ्कोरवाट के हिंदू मदिर तथा जावा में बोरोबुदूर-स्थित स्तूप भारतीय प्रायद्वीप से बाहर भारतीय कला के उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण हैं। भारत की कुछ कला-शैलियों को ईसा के बाद की आरंभिक शताब्दियों के मध्य-एशिया, चीन, जापान, इटली और स्पेन की कलाओं में देखा जा सकता है।

मुसलमानों ने जब भारत को जीता तब अपनी विजय के बाद उन्होंने कई अत्यत सुदर मदिरों को ध्वस्त कर दिया, लेकिन बाद में नष्ट-ध्वस्त करने की यह प्रक्रिया धीमी पड गई और उन्होंने नए-नए किलों, महलों और मस्जिदों के निर्माण में ज्यादा दिलचस्पी दिखाई। मुगलो ने वास्तु-कला में जो फारसी तत्व प्रविष्ट किए उनमें स्थानीय भारतीय शैलियाँ मिल-जुल गई। अब ऐसे शानदार बृहदाकार भवनों

का निर्माण होने लगा जिनमें पहले के जमाने की अत्यधिक सजावट का कोई स्थान नही था। अकबर द्वारा निर्मित शहर फतहपुर सीकरी में राजपूत कला का प्रभाव देखा जा सकता है। आंबेर और उदयपुर के राजपूती राजमहलों में मुगल प्रभाव देखा

जा सकता है। मध्य भारत में गोलकुंडा और बीजापुर में, जो मुगल प्रभाव से जरा ज्यादा दूर पड़ते थे, इस्लाम और हिंदू धर्म का प्रभाव लगभग एक समान था। इन सभी में फारसी वास्तु-कला का प्रभाव स्पष्ट है---गुंबदों में, मीनारों में, बहुमूल्य पत्थरों

दिल्ली की जामा मसजिद

से जड़ित स्फटिक-दीवारों में तथा पत्थरों की ऐसी जालीदार कटाई में जिससे कि धूप अंदर नहीं आ पाती थी लेकिन रोशनी आती थी। ताजमहल और लाल किला इस बात के उदाहरण हैं कि पारंपरिक शैलियों का उपयोग नई शैलियों की रचना करने के लिए किस सुंदरता के साथ किया जा सकता था।

क्लासिकी यूरोपीय वास्तु-कला ने भी भारतीय वास्तु-कला पर अपनी छाप छोड़ी है। कलकत्ता का विक्टोरिया मैमोरियल और नई दिल्ली का सचिवालय उस क्लासिकी रोमन शैली में बनाए गए थे जो कि उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में इंग्लैंड में बहुत

लोकप्रिय थी। अंग्रेजों के शासन ने भारत को कुछ ऐसे ही शानदार भवन प्रदान किए, लेकिन इससे भी ज्यादा महत्त्वपूर्ण बात यह थी कि उन्होंने भारतीयों को नगरों की योजना कैसे बनाई जानी चाहिए इस दिशा में एक नया मार्ग दिखाया, अर्थात वास्तु-कला का उपयोग केवल सौंदर्य के लिए नहीं बल्कि स्वस्थ नागरिक जीवन के ख्याल से किया जाना चाहिए। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य से प्रयत्न इस बात का रहा है कि नगरों का निर्माण या पुनर्निर्माण इस प्रकार किया जाए कि वे स्वच्छ रहें और वहां के नागरिकों को ताजी हवा मिल सके। इधर इन दोनों के साथ इस बात की कोशिश की जा रही है कि नगरों को केवल व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से ही निर्मित न किया जाए बल्कि इस प्रकार किया जाए कि वे आकर्षक भी लगें। चंडीगढ़ नगर उन शहरों में से है जिसको सुंदरता और उपयोगिता की दृष्टि से सावधानीपूर्वक सुनियोजित करने के बाद निर्मित किया गया है।

साहित्य और कला से अब हम संगीत और नृत्य की शैलियों की ओर बढ़ते हैं। संगीत और नृत्य शायद हमारी भावनाओं को व्यक्त करने के सबसे सहज और स्वतः स्फूर्त तरीके हैं। यही कारण है कि अन्य कलाओं के विपरीत इनके बहुत से लोक-प्रिय तथा शास्त्रीय स्वरूप हैं। भारत में लोक-संगीत और लोक-नृत्यों के बहुत से रूप

हैं और ये सभी बहुत सजीव हैं जैसा कि एक ऐसे देश में स्वाभाविक ही है जिसमें इतने सारे लोगों का भूमि से निकट का नाता हो। सबसे आरंभिक भजनों की रचना आर्यों ने भले ही की हो, लेकिन इन्हें संगीत-बद्ध करके गाने का विचार पहले-पहल द्रविड़ों को ही आया। नृत्य और कर्म-कांड के संगी के रूप में उद्भूत होनेवाला संगीत शीघ्र ही स्वयं में एक कला के रूप में विकसित हो गया। शास्त्रीय संगीत और संगीत की

विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय शैलियाँ पृथक रूप से, लेकिन एक साथ ही विकसित हुई। एक लंबे समय तक भारत में केवल एक ही संगीत-पद्धति हुआ करती थी और अत्यंत उच्च वैज्ञानिक आधार पर बँधी हुई इस राग-पद्धति मे प्रत्येक संभव सुर-मिश्रण की संभावना का ध्यान रखते हुए नियम बँधे हुए थे। मुसलमानों के उत्तर भारत में आकर बसने के बाद से फारसी सगीत और सगीत वाद्यो के चलते उत्तर भारत का संगीत दक्षिण भारत से भिन्न हो गया, हालाँकि दोनों क्षेत्रों के संगीतकार दोनों शैलियों पर चर्चा करने के लिए अवसर मिलते रहते थे और राजा लोग विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के संगीतकारो को संरक्षण प्रदान करते रहते थे। पश्चिमी संगीत ने भारतीयों को बिल्कुल प्रभावित नहीं किया। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि सामंजस्य पर आग्रह रखनेवाले पश्चिमी संगीत को भारतीय संगीत में आत्मसात नही किया जा सकता क्योंकि भारतीय संगीत लयात्मकता पर आग्रह करता है। भारतीय सगीत किसी संगीतकार को स्वरों की जो छूट देता है वह पश्चिमी संगीत में असंभव है। फिर भी पश्चिमी संगीत ने शास्त्रीय भारतीय संगीत पर तो नहीं पर सुगम संगीत पर असर डाला है। इसे सभी लोग पसंद करते है और यह शास्त्रीय संगीत, जिसे केवल कुछ लोग ही समझ सकते है, से भिन्न है। सुगम सगीत में ही भारत के सभी क्षेत्रों की संगीत शैलियाँ और विदेशी संगीत शैलियाँ अपनी विशिष्टताएं खोकर एक ही शैली में मिल-जुलकर प्रकट होती हैं।

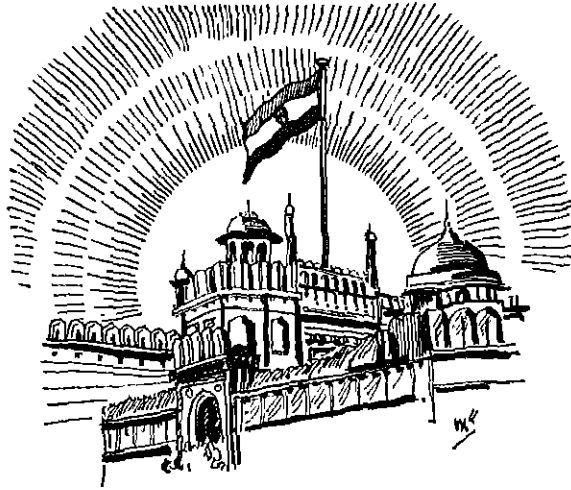
कला और संगीत की भाँति ही भारत में नृत्य-शैलियाँ भी धार्मिक पूजा के एक ढंग के रूप में शुरू हुई, लकिन कालांतर में उनका विस्तृत रूप से विकास हो गया। इसे भरतनाट्यम में देखा जा सकता है। भरतनाट्यम दक्षिण भारत का एक भक्ति-नृत्य है जो

धीरे-धीरे समृद्ध भंगिमाओं में विकसित हो गया और जिसका आनंद ऐसा व्यक्ति भी ले सकता है जिसे नृत्य के भक्ति-भाव का कोई ज्ञान न हो। ज्यादा गैर-धार्मिक नृत्यों में हैं बाद में विकसित होनेवाले उत्तर भारतीय कत्थक-नृत्य, और पूर्वी भारत का मणिपुरी-नृत्य। इन नृत्यों में मुख्य चीज वह कथा नहीं है जो नर्तक बताता है बल्कि नर्तक द्वारा गति, मुद्रा और पद-संकेतों द्वारा प्रकट की जाने-वाली कहानी ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है। लोक-नृत्य एक प्रकार से ग्रामीण जीवन के कैलेंडर हे, क्योंकि वे अवसर खेत बोने और खेत काटने के दृश्यों का ही चित्रण करते हैं——किसी लोकप्रिय धार्मिक विषय का नहीं।

भारत में नाटक राजदरबारों और गाँवों में लोकप्रिय थे——संस्कृत के नाटक

के रूप में जैसे कालिदास कृत 'शकुंतला' तथा पुराणों और ऐतिहासिक कथाओं के रूप में——जैसे बंगाल में जात्रा और केरल में कथकलि नृत्य-नाट्य। पश्चिम की भाँति ही भारत में फिल्मों के आगमन के साथ ही नाटकों का ह्रास हुआ है। भारत में फिल्म-निर्माण का प्रारंभ इस सदी के शुरू में हुआ। फिल्में जन-साधारण के सामने नाटक और संगीत तथा सामाजिक और राजनीतिक विचारों को प्रस्तुत करने का अद्‌भुत साधन है। हमारे देश में बनाई जानेवाली फिल्मों की संख्या में काफी बढ़ोतरी हुई है। फिल्मों की संख्या बढ़ने के साथ ही कुछ फिल्मों के कलात्मक गुणों का ह्रास हुआ है। लेकिन इधर कुछ प्रतिभाशाली निर्माताओं

और निर्देशकों ने दिखा दिया है कि सशक्त और सुंदर फिल्में भी बनाई जा सकती हैं।

भारतीय संस्कृति इतनी समृद्ध है कि हममें से कोई भी उसको संपूर्ण रूप से ग्रहण नहीं कर सकता। उसमें चुनाव की इतनी गुंजाइश है कि हममें से प्रत्येक को उसमें से अपनी पसंद का चुनने और उसका पूरा आनंद लेने की छूट है। हममें से अधिकांश लोग केवल सीख सकते हैं और आनंद ले सकते हैं, लेकिन हममें कुछ ऐसे प्रतिभाशाली लोग हैं जो इससे भी ज्यादा कर सकते हैं। वे हमारी विरासत में अपने कृतित्व का योगदान कर सकते हैं, अपनी प्रतिभा का अंश जोड़ सकते हैं---कहानी लिखकर, या कोई चित्र बना कर, या कोई गीत रचकर। भारतीय संस्कृति अत्यंत विशाल और विराट है और जीवंत भी। हमारा कर्त्तव्य है कि हम इसे जीवित रखें और इसमें जो कुछ जोड़ सकें, जोड़ें।

# ४—हमारा राष्ट्र

हमने देखा कि भारतीय समाज और संस्कृति ने सभी कालों में अद्भुत लोच-शीलता का, और अपने प्राचीन मूल्यों को खोए बिना नए लोगों और नई संस्कृतियों को आत्मसात करने की क्षमता का परिचय दिया है। लेकिन राजनीतिक और सैनिक दृष्टि से वैसी ही क्षमता और शक्ति का इस देश में अभाव रहा, और इस सदी से पहले तक हमारा देश कभी भी पूरी तरह स्वाधीन और एकीकृत नहीं रहा।

भारत में राजनीतिक एकीकरण के मार्ग मे सबसे बड़ी कठिनाई उसकी विशालता रही है। यह प्रायद्वीप इतना बड़ा है कि इसके अधिकांश भाग को एक ही शासक के अधीन एकता के सूत्र में बाँधने के किसी भी सफल प्रयत्न को चमत्कार ही समझा जाएगा। संसार में केवल तीन ही अन्य ऐसे देश हैं जिनकी आकार की विशालता की दृष्टि से भारत से तुलना की जा सकती है। ये हैं—चीन, अमेरिका और रूस। चीन में राजनीतिक एकता का इतिहास बहुत लंबा है। इसका कुछ कारण तो यह

है कि भौगोलिक स्थिति की दृष्टि से चीन बहुत भाग्यशाली रहा है। चारों ओर समुद्र और रेगिस्तान से घिरा होने के कारण विदेशी आक्रमणकारी उतनी सरलता से चीन में नही घुस सकते थे जितनी सरलता से वे उत्तर पश्चिमी हिमालय के दर्रों के रास्ते भारत में घुस सकते थे। रूस (जैसा कि वह सोवियत सरकार की स्थापना से पहले, एक साम्राज्य के रूप में था) मे राजनीतिक नियत्रण उसकी वर्तमान भौगोलिक सीमाओं तक केवल उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में ही स्थापित हो सका। सयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका तो तरुण राष्ट्र है जो मुश्किल से दो-सौ साल पुराना है। इसलिए भारत में राजनीतिक एकता का अगर कोई बहुत लंबा इतिहास नहीं है तो यह तथ्य इस बात का द्योतक कदापि नहीं है कि हमारे देश में कोई बुनियादी कमजोरी है। अब हम भारत मे राजनीतिक एकता स्थापित करने के प्रयत्नों पर एक सरसरी निगाह डालेंगे। उसके बाद भारत की जनता द्वारा स्वय यह राजनीतिक एकता स्थापित करने की कहानी हम पढ़ेंगे—वह कहानी, जो अभी भी जारी है।

सबसे पहले एक विशाल साम्राज्य मौर्य शासकों ने ईसा के जन्म से तीन सौ वर्ष पहले स्थापित किया था। यह साम्राज्य अफ़गानिस्तान से मैसूर तक फैला हुआ था और इसका क्षेत्र आज के स्वतंत्र भारतीय संघ के क्षेत्रफल से भी ज्यादा था। इस साम्राज्य की स्थापना अन्य राज्यों को जीत कर की गई थी। मौर्य शासकों में सबसे महान शासक सम्राट अशोक था। उसने यह अनुभव किया कि इतने विविध प्रकार के लोगों को एक ही साम्राज्य के अंतर्गत रखने के लिए एक अत्यंत केंद्रीकृत सरकार और सैनिक शक्ति ही काफी नहीं है। उसने यह निश्चय किया कि आगे से वह अन्य देशों को अपने साम्राज्य में नही मिलाएगा। अपनी प्रजा के अंदर एकता की भावना पैदा करने के लिए उसने बौद्ध सिद्धांतों का प्रयोग करने की कोशिश भी की। उसे आशा थी कि ये सिद्धांत अलग-अलग जातियों और धर्मो से ऊपर उठे होंगे, लेकिन फिर भी इन्हें वे सभी समझेंगे, और इस प्रकार उनके अंदर एकता और एक ही साम्राज्य के नागरिक होने की समान भावना पैदा होगी। अपने शासन काल में उसे अपने इस प्रयत्न में सफलता मिली, लेकिन अशोक के बाद कमजोर शासकों के

कारण और बाहरी आक्रमणों के फलस्वरूप मौर्य साम्राज्य छिन्न-भिन्न हो गया।

मौर्य साम्राज्य की भाँति ही बाद के कालों मे जो बड़े साम्राज्य स्थापित हुए, वे केवल तब तक ही चल सके जब तक उनके शासक योग्य और शक्तिशाली थे। ईसा के बाद चौथी शताब्दी का गुप्त साम्राज्य सिधु नदी से बगाल की खाड़ी तक, और कश्मीर से नर्मदा तक फैला हुआ था। चौदहवी शताब्दी के मध्य मे तुगलक साम्राज्य सिधु से कावेरी तक फैला हुआ था और विजयनगर साम्राज्य के अधीन चौदहवी से सोलहवी शताब्दी तक कृष्णा नदी के दक्षिण का सारा भू-भाग था। अपने-अपने समय में ये सभी वैभवशाली और शक्तिशाली साम्राज्य थे।

मुगलों का साम्राज्य सोलहवीं शताब्दी से सत्रहवी शताब्दी के अंत तक अपने वैभव के चरमोत्कर्ष पर रहा। यह अफगानिस्तान से दक्षिण तक फैला हुआ था। जिस प्रकार अशोक ने केंद्रीकरण और सैनिक शक्ति के सिवा अन्य तरीकों से अपनी प्रजा को एकता के सूत्र में बाँधने का प्रयत्न किया था उसी प्रकार अकबर ने भी अपने साम्राज्य को सैन्यबल से नही बल्कि प्रजा की सहमति से कायम रखने का प्रयत्न किया। उसने अपनी प्रजा के साथ, चाहे वह हिंदू हो या मुसलमान, एकसमान व्यवहार किया। वह बहुत चतुर था और समझता था कि विद्रोह सामान्यत: साम्राज्य के उन्ही क्षेत्रों मे होते हैं जो राजधानी से बहुत दूर होते है, और विद्रोह करने वाले अक्सर वे सूबेदार होते हैं जो एक ही जगह बहुत दिनों तक बने रहते हैं। इसलिए वह सूबेदारों की अक्सर एक जगह से दूसरी जगह बदली करता रहता था ताकि कोई सूबेदार किसी एक जगह पर इतने दिनों तक न रह सके कि उसे विद्रोह उकसाने का अवसर मिल सके। एक कुशल शासक और राजनयज्ञ के इन दोनों सिद्धांतो की बाद के मुगल सम्राटों ने उपेक्षा की, और यही उपेक्षा उनके साम्राज्य के पतन का एक मुख्य कारण बनी। मुगलों की शक्ति का सबसे प्रबल विरोध मराठों की ओर से हुआ। संभव था कि वे अपना एक विशाल साम्राज्य स्थापित कर लेते, लेकिन यह हुआ नही। उनकी कमजोरी यह थी कि उनके बीच बहुत-से मराठा सरदार थे, और हर एक की अपनी-

अपनी महत्वाकांक्षाएं थी। परिणामस्वरूप उनकी सम्मिलित शक्ति कगार की तरह ढह गई और वे आँधी में तिनकों की भाँति बिखर गए।

ये साम्राज्य, और इनके बाद स्थापित होनेवाले बहुत सारे अन्य छोटे-बड़े साम्राज्य क्यों विफल हुए, इसके दो मोटे कारण दिए जा सकते हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि ये साम्राज्य बाहर से देखने में बहुत प्रभावशाली दिखाई पड़ते थे, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर पर वे बहुत कमजोर थे क्योंकि उनमें कोई सुविकसित या कोई ऐसी समान प्रशासन-व्यवस्था नहीं थी जो सभी जगहों पर समान रूप से लागू हो। केंद्र से दूरवर्ती क्षेत्रों के नियंत्रण के लिए सम्राट लोग स्थानीय शासकों या सूबेदारों के ऊपर निर्भर रहते थे, और ये लोग हमेशा वफादार ही नहीं होते थे। देश के विभिन्न भागों को जोडने के लिए व्यापार-मार्गों अथवा मुगल सम्राटों द्वारा बनाए गए मुख्य मार्गों को छोड़कर सवहन की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं थी। इसके मतलब थे कि सम्राट के पास भले ही बहुत भारी सेना हो, लेकिन उसे देश के एक भाग से दूसरे भाग में शीघ्रता के साथ नहीं भेजा जा सकता था। इसके अलावा, जब कभी शासक अपने राज्य के दौरे पर या विजय-अभियान पर निकलता था तब धर्माधिकारी और प्रमुख सरकारी अधिकारी उसके साथ जाते थे, जिसका अर्थ था कि सम्राट की अनुपस्थिति में राजधानी तक में विद्रोह हो सकते थे। दूसरा कारण यह था कि इनमें से कोई भी साम्राज्य, अशोक और अकबर के साम्राज्य भी, सारी प्रजा की सक्रिय सहमति या सहयोग पर आधारित नहीं थे। शासकों के परिवर्तन से सामान्य जनता को कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता था। अलबत्ता जब कोई नया शासक अतिरिक्त कर-भार थोपता था या धार्मिक भेदभाव बरतता था तभी जनता को यह परिवर्तन महसूस होता था। जो शासन सैनिकबल अथवा जनता के केवल छोटे से भाग की सहमति पर आधारित होते हैं, वे ज्यादा दिन नही टिक सकते।

भारत में अंग्रेजी शासन की अवधि बहुत संक्षिप्त--मुश्किल से दो शताब्दी थी लेकिन अंग्रेज लोग पहले के शासकों से भिन्न थे। वे इस अर्थ में भिन्न थे कि ऊपर हमने पहले के शासकों की जिस कमजोरी का जिक्र किया है, वह कमजोरी उनमें नहीं

थी। उन्होंने देश में एक समान कानूनी और प्रशासनिक प्रणाली लागू की और देश को अच्छी संवहन और संचार व्यवस्था से जोड दिया। तथापि भारत पर स्थायी रूप से आधिपत्य रख सकने के लिए इतना ही पर्याप्त नहीं था। उनके शासन में पहले के शासको की दूसरी वाली कमजोरी मौजूद थी, अर्थात उन्हें अपनी सारी प्रजा का समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं था। वल्कि सही तो यह है कि पहले के शासकों के प्रति जनता में जितना प्रेम था, ब्रिटिश शासकों को उससे भी कम प्रेम प्राप्त था क्योंकि अंग्रेज लोग विदेशियों के रूप मे शासन करते थे, जब कि उनसे पहले के विजेता अपने को भारतीय समझने को तैयार थे।

ब्रिटिश शासन के प्रति गंभीर रूप मे विरोध सबसे पहले १८५७ मे प्रकट किया गया। इस वर्ष, कुछ महीनों तक तो ऐसा लगता था कि शायद उत्तर भारत के कुछ हिस्सों से अंग्रेजी शासन बिल्कुल उखाड़ फेंका जाएगा। ये भाग वे थे जिन्हें आज उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश और महाराष्ट्र के नाम से जाना जाता है। इस क्रांति का नेतृत्व भारतीय सैनिकों ने, अंग्रेजों द्वारा पराजित हुए कुछ राजाओं ने तथा कुछ सामान्य नागरिकों ने किया था। इस क्रांति का एक परिणाम यह हुआ कि इसके बाद से अंग्रेजो ने भारतीय राजाओं के साथ मित्रता की नीति का पालन किया। मेल-मिलाप की इस नीति और अंग्रेजों की अधिक सामरिक-शक्ति ने १८५७ के ढंग के विद्रोह को भविष्य में फिर भडकने से बचा लिया।

अंग्रेजी शिक्षा के प्रसार तथा पश्चिमी विचारों, विशेष रूप से पश्चिमी राजनीतिक विचारों के अध्ययन का, जिसका प्रारंभ राजा राममोहन राय की प्रेरणा से १८७८ में हुआ था, परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारत में राजनीतिक संगठनो की स्थापना हुई। इन संगठनों में प्रमुख शहरों के शिक्षित भारतीय लोग सदस्य हुआ करते थे। इनमें सबसे प्रमुख संगठन था भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस, जिसकी स्थापना १८८५ में हुई। इस संगठन के सदस्यों को आशा थी कि उन्हें सरकारी पदों पर नियुक्त होने तथा सरकार की आलोचना करने का अधिकार होगा। बीसवीं शताब्दी के आरंभ में कांग्रेस के कुछ सदस्य इस अपेक्षा से थोड़ा आगे बढ़ गए। उन्होंने

भारत की स्वाधीनता की माँग की, और कुछ ने धमकी दी कि यदि स्वतंत्रता नहीं दी गई तो उसके लिए लड़ाई की जाएगी। इसका अर्थ था कि कांग्रेस में दो वर्ग थे—एक नरमपंथी वर्ग जो ऐसा मानता था कि स्वतंत्रता बाद की चीज है, तात्कालिक आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि भारतीयों को पश्चिमी ढंग की संस्थाओं में भाग लेने की शिक्षा दी जाए, विशेष रूप से संसदीय ढंग की व्यवस्था की। दूसरा वर्ग था उग्रपंथी, ऐसे लोगों का वर्ग जिनका कहना था कि ये संस्थाएँ बाद में विकसित की जा सकती है, और तात्कालिक माँग स्वराज्य की होनी चाहिए। दोनों वर्गों की अपनी-अपनी कमजोरियाँ थीं। नरमपथी लोग पश्चिमी उदारवाद के अंध-भक्त थे। ये लोग यह समझने में असमर्थ थे कि इस व्यवस्था को भारत में लागू करना कठिन होगा क्योंकि यहाँ के सर्वसाधारण जनों को ऐसी शिक्षा नहीं दी गई है जो उन्हे इन राजनीतिक आदर्शों को समझने में सहायता दे सके। इसके विपरीत, उग्रपथी लोग पश्चिम के हर मूल्य को बिल्कुल अस्वीकार करते थे और उनका दावा था कि वे भारतीय परंपराओं की पुनर्स्थापना के पक्ष में हैं और चाहते है कि प्राचीन काल का भारतवर्ष जैसा था वैसा ही उसे फिर से बनाया जाए।

बीसवीं शताब्दी में दो नई बातें हुईं। पहली थी, १९०५ में मुस्लिम लीग की स्थापना, जिसका उद्देश्य था कि मुसलमानों के लिए, जो कि भारत में एक अल्प-संख्यक जाति थी, विशेष राजनीतिक रियायतें प्राप्त की जाएँ। दूसरी यह कि अंग्रेजों ने कांग्रेस की माँगों को इतनी अनिच्छा से और इतने अधूरे रूप में स्वीकार किया कि बहुत से लोग अधीर हो उठे। जो लोग जल्दी ही कुछ कर डालना चाहते हों, उन्हें समय की रफ्तार बहुत धीमी मालूम हो सकती है। उनमें से कुछ को ऐसा लगा कि जहाँ कहना-सुनना व्यर्थ हुआ है, संभव है कुछ कर डालना ज्यादा प्रभावकारी साबित हो। इसका परिणाम हुआ आतंकवाद का विकास, जिसके अंतर्गत अंग्रेज अधिकारियों की हत्या और अंग्रेजों की संपत्ति की क्षति की गई। १९१९ एक नाजुक वर्ष था। यह वह वर्ष था जब १९१४-१९१८ का प्रथम विश्व-युद्ध समाप्त करते हुए एक शांति-समझौता किया गया था। बहुत से भारतीयों को आशा थी कि चूँकि भारत ने युद्ध में ब्रिटेन

की उदारतापूर्वक सहायता की थी अत: उसे पूर्ण अथवा आंशिक स्वतंत्रता प्रदान करके पुरस्कृत किया जाएगा। उनकी इस आशा को इस तथ्य से भी बल मिला था कि शांति-सम्मेलन में कई यूरोपीय जातियों को राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता प्रदान की जा रही थी। लेकिन इन आशाओं को गहरा धक्का पहुँचाया गया। भारत को केवल १९१९ का काउंसिल अधिनियम दिया गया, जिसके अंतर्गत भारतीयों को सरकारी काम काज में अपेक्षतया ज्यादा भाग तो प्रदान किया गया था लेकिन स्वाधीनता का उसमें कोई जिक्र नहीं था।

१९१९ के वर्ष ने जहाँ ये दो निराशाएँ देखीं, वहीं उसने राजनीतिक आंदोलन में एक नई शक्ति का आगमन भी देखा। जैसे कोई चमत्कार हुआ हो, इस प्रकार एक आदमी नई तरकीब लेकर सामने आया। इस तरकीब ने, क्योंकि वह बहुत सरल थी, और क्योंकि इस तरकीब को सुझानेवाले व्यक्ति का व्यक्तित्व अत्यंत अद्भुत और प्रभावकारी था, इस आंदोलन को एक राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन का स्वरूप प्रदान कर दिया जिसके समर्थक सभी क्षेत्रों के सभी वर्गों के लोग बन गए। यह व्यक्ति थे महात्मा गांधी। विचित्र भले लगे, लेकिन उनका अस्त्र था अहिंसा। गांधी जी की ईमानदारी ऐसी थी कि उन्हें कोई भी, यहाँ तक कि अंग्रेज लोग भी, नापसंद नहीं कर सकते थे। उनकी भाषा और उनका आचरण इतना सादा था कि बच्चे तक उनको समझ सकते थे। यही कारण है कि गांधी जी वह प्राप्त कर सके जो उनसे पहले कोई राजनीतिक नेता नहीं प्राप्त कर सका था--सारे देश के लोग उन्हें या कम-से-कम उनके बारे में जान गए। इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि सभी लोग उनके आदर्शों को पूरी तरह समझते थे। सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन देखने में तो बहुत सरल प्रतीत होता था लेकिन इस आंदोलन में आतंकवादियों द्वारा भावनात्मक आवेग में दिखाई गई साहसिकता के मुकाबले कहीं ज्यादा साहस और दृढ़ता की अपेक्षा थी। १९२० से १९४० तक के बीच गांधी जी ने मध्य और निम्नवर्गीय लोगों के बीच में अपना प्रभाव बहुत बढ़ा लिया। ये अत्यंत उत्तेजनापूर्ण वर्ष थे---राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन ताजी हवा के एक झोंके के समान सारे देश में फैल गया। बहुत-से लोगों ने स्वाधीनता-

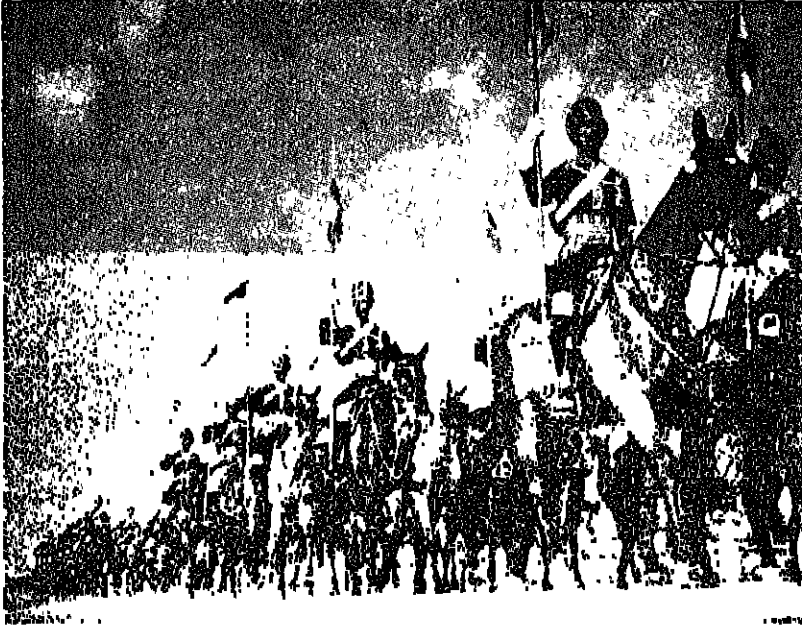
प्राप्ति के लिए कष्ट-सहन किया---जिनमें से कुछ नाम हमें ज्ञात है लेकिन हजारों ऐसे हैं जो अज्ञात हैं।

एक बार बड़े पैमाने पर राजनीतिक जागृति पैदा हो जाने के बाद ऐसे दल पैदा होने लगे जो स्वाधीनता के ऊपर नही बल्कि कुछ विशिष्ट समस्याओं पर सारा जोर लगाने लगे। इनमे से सबसे बडा दल था मुस्लिम लीग जिसका हम पहले ही उल्लेख कर चुके है। लोग ने सबसे पहले इस लिए आंदोलन किया कि मुसलमानों के लिए विशेष राजनीतिक सुविधाओं की व्यवस्था की जाए, क्योंकि अन्यथा हिंदू लोग उन पर हावी हो जाएंगे। लेकिन १९३० के बाद से मुस्लिम लीग इससे भी आगे बढ़ी---उसने माँग की कि जिन क्षेत्रों में मुसलमानों का बहुमत है वहाँ उन्हे एक पृथक राज्य प्रदान किया जाए। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि देश का विभाजन हुआ और भारत ने १९४७ मे जिस समय स्वाधीनता प्राप्त की, उसी समय पाकिस्तान के रूप में एक मुस्लिम राज्य की स्थापना भी हुई।

भारत में अनेक समाजवादी दल थे---कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, रिवोल्यूशनरी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी---और ये सभी दल चाहते थे कि किसानों और श्रमिक वर्गो की समस्याओं पर ध्यान दिया जाए। एक अन्य वर्ग भी प्रकाश में आया जब डा० अबेदकर ने अनुसूचित निर्योग्यताग्रस्त निम्न वर्गो का मामला पेश किया। इस तरह भारत ने दुनिया के सामने अपने स्वतंत्र होने की योग्यता का परिचय दिया। १८८५ से १८८९ तक के चार सालों में कांग्रेस ने जो नर्म माँगे रखी थीं वे बढकर स्वाधीनता और एकीकरण के देश-व्यापी आदोलन में परिवर्तित हो गई थीं और विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों की स्थापना इस बात का प्रमाण थी कि भारतीय लोग अपने समाज के बीच उत्पन्न होनेवाली समस्याओं, जिनसे कि उन्हें निपटना था, के प्रति जागरूक हैं। इंग्लैंड ने अब अनुभव किया कि स्वाधीनता की माँग की अब उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती। अतः १९४७ में उन्होंने भारतीयो को राजनीतिक सत्ता सौंप दी।

१५ अगस्त, १९४७---भारतीय स्वाधीनता का दिन---उत्साह-उल्लास

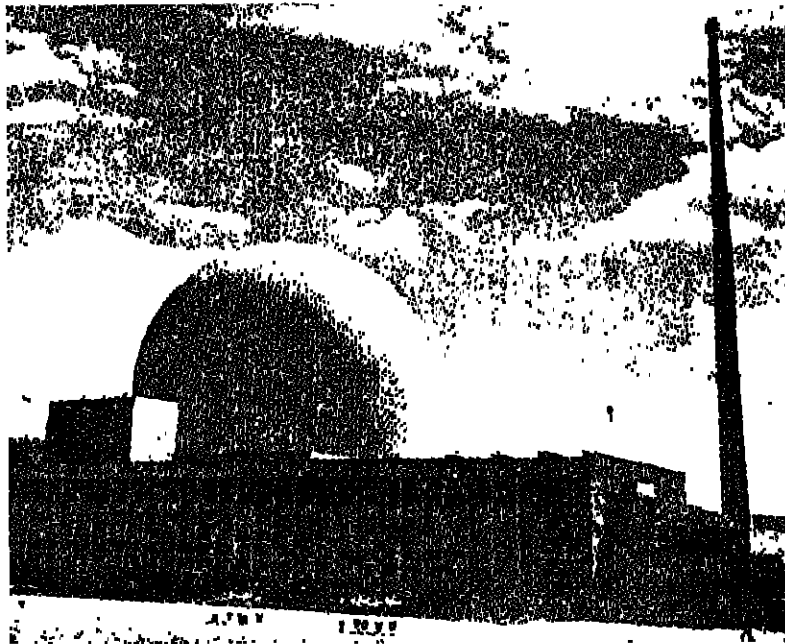
और चिर-अभिलषित कामना की पूर्ति का दिन था। बाद मे यह अनुभव किया गया कि कई अर्थो में ज्यादा बड़ी राजनीतिक समस्याएं स्वतंत्रता से पहले की अपेक्षा उसके बाद पैदा होती है। १९४७ से बाद के वर्ष भारतीय लोगों की एकता और संगठन की परीक्षा के नाजुक वर्ष रहे हैं। किसी विदेशी के विरुद्ध एकता कायम रखना अपेक्षाकृत आसान है, बाद में यह एकता कायम रखना उतना आसान नहीं है। १९४७ से पहले अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध एकता देखी गई थी; जब चीनियों ने १९६२ मे आक्रमण किया तब यह एकता फिर दिखाई पड़ी। चीनियों के इस आक्रमण ने यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि सतही तनावों के बावजूद, बुनियादी तौर पर भारत एक राष्ट्र है। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि किसी विदेशी आक्रमण का खतरा न होने पर यह भावना उतनी ही स्पष्ट और स्वयं प्रकट नहीं होती।

आखिर हमारे देश में एकता का अभाव क्यों होना चाहिए? थोड़ा बहुत संघर्ष या विरोध तो किसी भी लोकतांत्रिक देश की विशेषता है (अर्थात ऐसा देश जहाँ प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को समान राजनीतिक अधिकार प्राप्त है), लेकिन भारत में ये संघर्ष किसी भी अन्य देश की अपेक्षा ज्यादा हुए हैं क्योंकि यहाँ धार्मिक और भाषायी भेद ज्यादा हैं, जिनका कि जिक्र हम पहले कर चुके है। किसी लोकतांत्रिक सरकार के लाभों का--भाषण और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता के पूर्ण अधिकार का--विचारहीन या स्वार्थी लोगों द्वारा दुरुपयोग किया जा सकता है। जो लोग ऐसा करते हैं वे समानता और समान अवसरों की उस भावना के विरुद्ध काम कर रहे है जिसकी कि हमने १९४७ में गारंटी की थी। लोकतंत्र एक विशेषाधिकार है--लेकिन एक ऐसा अधिकार है जिसका आसानी से दुरुपयोग किया जा सकता है। इसे कई स्तरों पर देखा जा सकता है---एक व्यक्ति का दूसरे व्यक्तियों के प्रति आचरण में, गाँवों या शहरों के प्रशासन में, विभिन्न राज्यों की निर्वाचित विधान सभाओं में; देश की संसद में। भारत में इन लोकतंत्रीय संस्थाओं की उत्पत्ति हाल में हुई है। इनका विकास अंशतः उन्नीसवी शताब्दी के मध्य के बाद से शुरू हुआ था लेकिन वे पूर्णतः लोकतान्त्रिक १९४७ के बाद ही हुईं। इसीलिए हमें इन संस्थाओं की कार्यविधि का बहुत लंबा अनुभव नहीं है।

नई दिल्ली में राष्ट्रपति के घुड़सवार अंगरक्षक

इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए यह हमारे ऊपर निर्भर करता है कि हम देखें कि हम राजनीति में धर्म, जाति या भाषा के विचारों को जोड़ कर और ज्यादा गड़बड़ी न फैलाएं। ऐसा करने से इस राष्ट्र की एकता खतरे में पड़ जाएगी, ऐसा राष्ट्र जिसकी स्थापना १९४७ में की गई थी और जो हमारे देश की विविधताओं के ऊपर एकता के एक अद्भुत सेतु के समान खड़ा है और साथ ही जिसमें इस विविधता के प्रति आदर की भावना है। हमें अपनी इस राष्ट्रीयता की भावना को सावधानी के साथ सहेज कर रखना चाहिए।

## ५—………और हम

हमने भारत की विरासत पर सरसरी निगाह डाली है। किसी देश के लोग किस प्रकार रहेंगे, इसका निश्चय करने में उस देश की भौगोलिक प्रकृति और जल-वायु का विचार अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है। भारत इस दृष्टि से बहुत भाग्यशाली है कि यहाँ की भूमि बहुत ही उपजाऊ और विभिन्न प्रकार की है तथा यहाँ की जलवायु अच्छी है। विगतकाल मे इन्ही तत्वों ने उसे एक समृद्ध देश बनाया था, लेकिन आज, जब कि कृषि-उत्पादन मात्र ही किसी देश की समृद्धि का सूचक नही रह गया है, और समृद्धि तथा संपन्नता के लिए उद्योग आवश्यक होते जा रहे है, तब भारत को अभी बहुत कुछ करना बाकी है। यह एक चुनौतीपूर्ण काम है, लेकिन भारत को एक बहुत बड़ा लाभ यह है कि अपनी महानता के दिनों में भी वह जो नहीं था, आज वह है। आज वह एक स्थायी और लोकतांत्रिक राजनीतिक इकाई है, और राजनीतिक एकता सदा आर्थिक प्रगति को प्रोत्साहन देती है। उसको बौद्धिक साधनों का एक अन्य लाभ भी है। धन तथा जो चीजें धन से खरीदी जा सकती है, वे मनुष्य की आवश्यकताओ को आशिक रूप में ही पूरा कर सकती हैं। जो कमी बचती है उसकी पूर्ति मस्तिष्क को खूराक पहुँचा कर ही की जा सकती हैं। इस खूराक को हमारी सास्कृतिक निधियों में, तथा हमारे देश के विभिन्न भागों की खोज करने के साहसिक प्रयत्नों में

और विभिन्न रीति-रिवाजो और प्रथाओं और भाषाओं वाले लोगों को जानने के प्रयत्नों में प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। यहाँ यह कह देना उपयुक्त होगा कि हमारा इतिहास अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से उत्साहवर्द्धक है। वह इस दृष्टि से कि किसी समुदाय या धर्म की यह इच्छा कि वह भारत मे किसी अन्य समुदाय या धर्म को समाप्त कर दे, कभी सार्थक और अपने उद्देश्य मे समर्थ नही हो सकी। किसी भी नई चीज को किसी पुरानी मान्यता का त्याग किए बिना स्वीकार करने में सहिष्णुता की भावना ने हमेशा मदद की है। दूसरी जो बात फिर से कहने की है वह यह कि हमारा भारतीय गणतंत्र उन

महाराष्ट्र मे बबई के निकट ट्राम्बे स्थित आणविक अनुसधान केन्द

लोगों के कार्यों का परिणाम है जिन्होंने हमारे देश के विभिन्न वर्गों को एक राष्ट्र के रूप मे परिवर्तित करने का प्रयत्न किया था। उन्होंने जिस राष्ट्र की रचना की, वह मात्र एक कानूनी और राजनीतिक संगठन ही नहीं है। राष्ट्रवाद इससे ज्यादा बडी चीज है। सबसे ऊपर यह मस्तिष्क के रवैये की बात है। भारत एक अत्यन्त तरुण राष्ट्र है और उसके निर्माण का कार्य अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ है——वह जारी है। हमारे विभिन्न आर्थिक साधन और हमारी समृद्ध सांस्कृतिक विरासत केवल कुछ क्षेत्रों की नहीं, बल्कि समूचे देश की संपत्ति है। हमें उनका आदर करना है और उनका रचनात्मक रूप में प्रयोग करना है। हमने इस पुस्तक का आरंभ पंडित नेहरू की एक उक्ति से किया था। इसका अंत भी हम उनके एक कथन से ही करेंगे, एक प्रश्न, जो हमें अपने आपसे करना चाहिए:

*"हम सभी भारत की बात करते हैं, और भारत से कितनी ही चीजो की अपेक्षा करते हैं। लेकिन हम बदले में उसे देते क्या हैं?"*

looting in the open, the *Bargis* entered the villages. They set fire to the houses, large and small, temples and dwelling-places. After burning the villages they roamed about on all sides plundering. Some victims they tied up with their arms twisted behind them. Some they flung down and kicked with their shoes. They constantly shouted, 'Give us Rupees, give us Rupees, give us Rupees.' Where they got no Rupee, they filled their victims' nostrils with water or drowned them in tanks. Some were put to death by suffocation. Those who had money, gave it to the *Bargis*, those who had none had to give up their lives. It was only after crossing the Bhagirathi that people found safety."

Another contemporary, Vāneshwar Vidyālankār, the Court Pandit of the Maharajah of Bardwān, wrote in November, 1744: "Shāhu Rājah's troops are niggard of pity, slayers of pregnant women and infants, of Brāhmans and the poor, fierce of spirit, expert in robbing the property of every one and in committing every sinful act. They created a local cataclysm and caused the extirpation of the people of the Bengal villages like an (ominous) comet. . . . In one day they can cross a hundred *yojans*. They slay the unarmed, the poor, women and children. They rob all property and abduct chaste wives. If it comes to a battle, they secretly flee away to some other country. Their main strength lies in their marvellously swift horses. Such was the tumultuous ocean of *Bargi* troops."

The Muslim historians Salimullah and Ghulām Husain Salim confirm this account. They write, "The *Bargis* cut off the ears, noses and hands of multitudes of people, or killed them with many kinds of torture and suffering,—by gagging their mouths with bags of dust or drowning them. They destroyed the honour of the people" (*i.e.*, outraged the women.) The letters from the French factory at Chandarnagar and the English settlement of Calcutta tell the same tale of oppression.

### § 11. *The Nawāb surprises the Marātha camp at Katwā on 27th September.*

While all this was happening to his subjects, Alivardi at first confined himself to defending his capital by forming a camp outside it, at Amānīganj and Tārakpur, and decided to put off the campaign against the enemy till the coming winter, when the

reinforcements called up by him from his deputies in Purnia and Patna would reach him. They came to him accompanied by 5,000 and 12,000 men respectively, before the rainy season was over.

Pressed by Zainuddin Ahmad (the *nāib nāzim* of Patna), Alivardi wisely changed his plan, and decided to attack the Marāthas before the drying of the roads and the fall of the river-level would restore to the light Deccani horse its natural advantage. Meantime, Bhāskar, secure in the possession of West Bengal, was celebrating* the Durgā pujā, the greatest festival among the Hindus of Bengal, in the most gorgeous style with forced contributions from all the zamindārs. Here the Nawāb surprised him early in the morning of the third day of the ceremony, the Navami, 27th September, 1742.

Katwā stands at the junction of two rivers, the Ganges running from north to south, and a smaller stream called the Ajay flowing into it from the west. The Nawāb, coming from Murshidābād, would have to cross the Ganges only if he attacked Katwā from the south, and both the rivers if he tried to reach the place from the north and the west. The presence of an armed sloop of the enemy in the Ganges alongside Katwā and the alertness of the Marātha troops on that river-face made it impossible for him to cross the Ganges at that place. He had entrenched the eastern bank of the river facing Katwā and fired for eight days upon the Marātha position across with no result. So, he decided on a wide detour by the north and west in order to reach the enemy in secrecy and attack their unprotected western flank by surprise. Some miles above Katwā both banks of the Ganges were in the Nawāb's possession, with no Marātha band in sight. Here the Nawāb built a bridge of large boats across the Ganges at Uddharanpur and transferred his "storm troops," ten thousand picked men, to the north bank of the Ajay.

About a mile above the western or left wing of the Marātha camp the Nawāb had gradually collected a number of smaller boats unsuspected and unopposed by the enemy, by following the

* At Dāmhāt, according to C[illegible] sent two of his captains to Ra[illegible] They reached the Raja's court [illegible]

cunning device of sending them to creep from the Ganges up the Ajay river one at a time. With these boats a bridge was swiftly and silently completed at midnight by the strenuous exertions of his engineers, and then the Nawab's troops began to cross over to the Maratha side of the Ajay. A boat in the middle of the structure broke down and sank under the weight of the passing men and beasts, and before the moving troops could be halted 1500 of the Bengal soldiers were drowned. The Nawāb immediately extinguished all his lights and prevented any alarm from reaching the Marātha camp. The damage was repaired in a few hours and the crossing was resumed. By the earliest streak of dawn some 2,500 of his men had reached the south bank of the Ajay. They waited no longer for the rest of the army to cross over, lest the growing light should reveal their small number to the Marāthas and defeat their attempt. Quickly crossing the intervening mile of ground, the Bengal army charged the Marātha camp with loud shouts. The surprise was complete. The Marāthas fled without waiting to ascertain the strength of the attacking force or strike a blow. "There was little loss on either side", as the English factory letter reports, but the Nawāb's victory was complete, the Marāthas had to leave all their tents, equipment and property behind. In the course of the morning the Nawāb pushed up reinforcements from the other side of the Ajay in boats, and himself arriving on the scene took up the pursuit of the enemy for some distance, and then came back to their deserted camp. [*Siyar*, ii 124—126; *Maharashtra Puran*, Salimullah 121*a* —122*a*; Yusuf, 49, Karam, 19*b*—20*b*.]

## § 12. *Province cleared of Marathas up to Chilka lake December, 1742*

Bhāskar fled by way of Pachet, his scattered detachments also vacated Bardwan, Hughli, Hijli and other places. But the jungle hindered the Bengal troops in pursuing him. Bhāskar then turned south and moving by way of Chandrakonā raised his head in the Medinipur district, where he looted and burnt Rādhānagar and other large places, making Nārāyangarh his base. Thence he sent a detachment to Katak, which captured that town after defeating and slaying its governer, Shaikh Masum, at Jājpur. On hearing of this development, Alivardi turned aside from Pachet

towards Medinipur The Marāthas were incessantly pursued and driven back beyond the Chilkā lake into the Deccan (December, 1742) Bengal and Orissā were thus at last totally freed from the raiders Then the Nawāb halted at Katak for a few weeks to restore its administration, and returned to Murshidābād in triumph about 9th February 1743

### § 13 *Oudh army comes to Patna December 1742*

The first Marātha incursion into these provinces was beaten back by the end of December, 1742, but in the meantime an unexpected danger had threatened Bihār which revealed the utter rottenness of the State of Delhi At the first coming of Bhāskar, Alivardi Khan had appealed to the Emperor for help and the Emperor had ordered Safdar Jang, the *subahdār* of Oudh to go and guard the province of Bihār, and then, if necessary, advance into Bengal Safdar Jang had left his headquarters at Faizābād with 6,000 Persian cavalry (formerly of Nādir Shāh's army) and 10,000 good Indian soldiers and a powerful artillery The greatest terror was felt by the people of Bihār from the ferocity and greed of their pretended defenders, as Safdar Jang's troops were quite unruly and committed all sorts of outrages

After visiting Patna city and viewing its fort (c 7th December, 1742), Safdar Jang encamped at Bānkipur, five miles west of it, and began to act as if he were already the lawful master of the province On receiving the news of Alivardi's return from Orissā and the report that the Peshwā Bālāji Rao, was rapidly coming to Bihar to aid Alivardi, Safdar Jang beat a hurried retreat from Patna Crossing the Ganges at Munir by a bridge of boats (c 15 January, 1743), he re-entered his own province [*Siyar*, ii 127-129 Yusuf 53 *Imād-us-Sādat*, 33-34]

### § 14 *Second Maratha invasion, 1743*

In 1743, at Bhāskar's call, Raghuji Bhonslé himself marched with a large army by way of Rāmgarh towards Katwā (where he arrived at the beginning of March), bent upon exacting the

*chauth* of these three provinces which had been promised to Shāhu by the Mughal Emperor and assigned by that Rājah to Raghuji. To counter-act it, the Emperor had appealed to the Peshwā Bālaji Rao, who was the rival and personal enemy of Raghuji, and the Peshwā had agreed (as early as November 1742) to lead an army into Bengal for the purpose of opposing Raghuji.

### § 15. *Peshwa Balaji Rao enters Bihar, February, 1743.*

Early in February 1743, the Peshwā entered Bihar from the south with a strong force, which rumour put at half a *lakh* of men.* The news of his coming, though in the guise of an ally

* The Peshwa's route through Bihar and Bengal is thus given in his Diary [Vad, ii pp. 242-243 *corrected*]:—1743 *January* 26-30, Allahabad south bank. *Feb.* 4. Vindhyāchal near Mirzāpur.—8-10. Rāmpurā near Benares, (Rāmnagar)—13-14, River Durgāvati (near Jahanabad)—15. Sasaram. 16-17. River Son (crossed near Dāudnagar).—18. River Punpun.—23. Gayā.—*March* 8-9. River Ganges (crossed near Mungir)—14, Jamdā in Khargpur hills (22 m. n. e. of Baidyanāth-Deoghar)—15. Gokulā in pargana Lakshmipur.—16. Dhanua in parg. Handuā (25 m. n. of Dumka)—17-18, Sarangpām (14 m. n. of Nayā Dumkā)—19, Fathpur (9 m. s. of Dumka) 20, Bhādu (*Lahuru* 10 m. n. of Nagar and 15 m. n. w. of Suri on n. bank of Mor river)—21, Rangaon Pathrā in Birbhum (prob. Pathardang 7 m. w. of Suri)—22. Puranā in parg. Lom, Birbhum (prob. Parangāon, 10 m. n. e. of Suri). 23-25, Kalpourā in Kot Mamaleshwar, Birbhum (*Kalipur* 2 m. s. of Mayureshwar which is 15 m. n. e. of Suri, Rennell reads *Kot Muleshwar* here)—26. Duhalia in parg. Fathsingh (2 m. s. of Kandi Gopinathpur). 27-30. Chunriāgāchā (4 m. s. of Rāngamati on w. bank of Ganges). *On 30th March Peshwā visited Alivardi Khan.*—*April* 1-2, Basura (3 m. w. of Palashi on w. bank of Ganges, and 13 m. s. of Chaunragachha)—3. Barol in parg. Mokad ?—4. Barhānpur in Bardwan (prob. Udhanpur ferry, 3 m. n. of Katwa.) *On 7th April Alivardi visited Peshwa in camp.*—9, Dignagar (18 m. n. w. of Bardwan.) *Hence Peshwa marched rapidly along*. 10-13. Kakshā (15 m. w. of Dignagar)—15. Bamburi in parg. Vishnupur.—16, Mājgāon (modern *Mejia*, 24 m. n. w. of Kaksha, s. of the Damodar)—17. *Sirāpur* (modern *Sirpurā* 14 m. w. of Mejia)—18. *Bido* (5 m. s. w. of Sirpurā and 2 m. from Khajura Rl. Stn.)—19. Saka (mod. *Sanka* Rl. Stn. on Adra-Gomoh line)—20. Bhargatha (mod. *Bankatha* in pargana Chhadra, the last-named being a railway stn. on Adra-Purulia line)—21-24. Hisak in pargana Sikar-bhum (mod. Hesa 12 m. s. w. of Chhadra and 8 m. s. w. of Purulia)—25, Regan Kodār

caused the greatest consternation throughout the province. And with good reason. His army was irresistible, and "along his route those who gave him blackmail or costly presents saved their lives and property, while those who attempted defence were killed and their houses were given up to plunder." Patna city trembled for its life; the one anxiety of the citizens was to save their families from outrage by sending their women elsewhere across the river. "Not a family of note was left in the town," as the English factory reported. Happily, the Peshwā did not come to Patna. From Benares Bālāji hastened to Bengal by way of Saseram, Dāudnagar, Gaya and Mungir,—causing great loss and disturbance to the towns in his path. Issuing from the hills and jungles on to the plain of Birbhum, he took the road to Murshidābād, while Raghuji occupied the Bardwān district with his camp at Katwā. Thus, two vast Marātha forces, each under a first grade chief, were assembled close to each other in Bengal and a collision between them seemed imminent. [*Siyar* ii. 129-130. Yusuf 57-59.]

## § 16. *Interview between Peshwa and Nawab, Raghuji expelled*

Alivardi, on learning that Bālāji had arrived 20 miles from Murshidabad, sent his *jamadār* Ghulām Mustafa with the Peshwā's envoys, Gangādhar Rāo and Amrit Rāo, to Pilāji Jadav, the commander of the Marātha vanguard. Pilaji came to the Nawāb with these men, exchanged mutual oaths of fidelity and assurance of friendship, and then returned to his chief. The Nawāb, advancing further encamped at Lawdā (7 miles south of Berhampur Cantonment), from which village Bālāji's camp was only six

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in parg. Pachet (20 m. w. of Purulia and 7 m. e. of Jhalda)—26-27, Barishā parg. Rālishā kingdom of Rajah Naval Shah (prob. *Burgah*, 11 m. n. w. of Jhalda) —28. Bedugarh in Chutia Nagpur (prob. *Rāmgarh*, 26 m. s. s. e. of Hazaribagh)—29. Jinti in parg. Siri (? river Jainti)—30, Sivā in parg. Bishengarh (prob. *Sila Lehak*, 12 m. w. of Hazaribagh)—*May*, 1. Govindpur?—3. Gori Anantpur (prob. *Jorce*, 10 m. s. of Hunterganj, e. bank of Lilajan river)—12, Akbarpur (4 m. e. of Rohtasgarh, on w. bank of Son river)—14, Saserām—15, Jahanabad on Durgāvati river—18. Mughal Sarāi—19, bank of the Ganges—21, Mirzāpur

miles distant. Midway between these two places pavilions were set up for the interview.*

On 31st March Bālāji came to the meeting place with Pilāji Jadav, Malhar Holkar and other generals. At the end of the interview the Peshwā was sent back with a present of four elephants, two buffaloes and five horses. It was agreed that the Nawāb would pay Shahu Rājah the *chauth* for the province besides 22 *lakhs* of Rupees to Bālāji for the expenses of his army while the Peshwā would effect a final settlement with Raghuji, who would not trouble Bengal in future. Alivardi could not at first provide such a large sum at once, and it was only the Peshwā's threat to march away leaving Bengal to the tender mercies of Raghuji that compelled the Nawāb to make the payment.

Then these two new allies set out together to expel Raghuji. The latter, on hearing of their advance, broke up his camp between Katwā and Bardwān, and fled to Birbhum. After one or two marches, Bālāji told the Nawāb that the Bengal troopers could not keep pace with the fleet Deccan horse and therefore Raghuji would slip away unless the Peshwā pursued him with his own cavalry alone. This was agreed to, and next day (10th April) Bālāji began a rapid march, overtook Raghuji, beat him in a battle, and drove him in flight into the western hills with heavy loss of men and of much of his baggage and camp which were abandoned to plunder. Many officers of the Nāgpur army also came over to the Peshwā.

Alivardi turned back from Dignagar (32 miles south-west of Katwā) and on reaching Katwā (24th April) made it his base. Soon afterwards he received despatches from Bālāji reporting that Raghuji had passed through Mānbhum and taken the road to Sambalpur, after which Bālāji had marched by way of Pachet

* "The Maratha generals demanded the *chauth* of Bengal in Shahu Raja's name. Bala Rao proposed a conference with the Nawab which was held on 31st March at Plassey, when the Nawab agreed to allow Shahu Rajah the *chauth* and pay Bala Rao 22 *lakhs* of Rupees for the expenses of his army,—he promising to accommodate affairs with Raghuji, who retired to Birbhum." Bengal letter, 13th August, 1743. For Balaji in Bengal, see *Akhbarat* 25th, 26th, 29th April and 4th, 10th, 11th, 17th, 20th and 28th May, 1743, as tr. by me in *J. B. & O. R. S.*, December, 1931. Also *Siyar* ii. 131.

to Gayā, where he offered the customary oblations to the souls of his dead ancestors and then took the way to Punā

### § 17 *Condition of the country under Maratha terror*

This second *Bargi* invasion (March to May, 1743) repeated the misery of the previous year's raid, though in a smaller theatre and for a shorter time The English merchants of Calcutta write, "An entire stop was put to (our) business for some time at Calcutta, Qasimbāzār and Patna" The defensive measures at Calcutta are thus described "On the Marāthas' return we on 17th March (1743) ordered the batteries to be put in good order and entertained a hundred Baksaris We raised a militia of the inhabitants on 4th April The merchants proposed at their own expense to dig a ditch round the town to secure their houses. (The Council) agreed thereto on 29th March and lent them Rs 25,000 on four persons' security to repay it in three months, which is completed as far as the Great Road that leads from the Fort Gate towards the Lake and is begun to be carried on as far as the extent of the Company's bounds at Govindpur" This was the origin of the famous *Marātha Ditch* of Calcutta [Bengal letter, 3rd February, 1744] At Patna the *nāib nāzim*, Zainuddin Ahmad Haibat Jang, constructed a mud wall round the city

### § 18 *Third Maratha incursion, March, 1744*

The nine months from June 1743 to February 1744 passed in peace for these three provinces, and then at the beginning of March, 1744, Bhāskar renewed the invasion of Bengal by way of Orissā and Medinipur He was now in a fierce mood by reason of his having lost all his booty and camp property in his hurried flight from Katwā (27 Sep. 1742) in his first year's campaign, and his having been expelled bag and baggage from Bengal by Bālājī in the second year (April, 1743) The Peshwā had easily secured 22 *lakhs* of Rupees from the province, while the Bhonslé had hitherto gained not a pice in return for his vast expenditure on the Bengal adventure Therefore, Bhāskar began his third year's raid with brutal ferocity and the Nagpur troops ranged through the country like mad dogs [Yusuf 63 ]

As the contemporary Gangaram writes, "As soon as Bhaskar arrived again he summoned all his captains and ordered them 'Draw your swords and kill every man and woman that you see.' When the commander spoke thus, they plundered and slew on every side with shouts of *Kill! kill!* Brahmans, Vaishnavs, Sannyasis, women and cows were slaughtered by the hundred." The universal outrage committed on women by the raiders as reported by this observer has been mentioned already.

In their attempt to escape from such rape and slaughter, the fugitive population had to undergo unspeakable privations.

### § 19. *Alivardi deceived by the Peshwa—his helplessness.*

Alivardi was utterly bewildered by this revival of the Marātha menace. Only a year ago he had paid a huge subsidy to Bālāji on condition that the Peshwā would effect an enduring settlement with Raghuji and insure Bengal against all risk of *Bargi* raids in future. Balaji had, no doubt, driven Raghuji out of the province for the occasion (April 1743), but next year these human locusts reappeared in their myriads as before.

The reason was that in the meantime these two Marātha chiefs had met together at their king's Court and Shāhu had imposed upon them a compromise, dated 31 August, 1743, by which the four *subahs* of Malwa, Agra, Ajmir and Allahabad as well as the two estates of Tikāri and Bhojpur (inclusive of Dāudnagar) in *subah* Bihar, *i.e.* the tract lying west of Patna and east of Allahabad and yielding 12 lakhs of Rupees a year, were assigned to the Peshwa, while Raghuji was to enjoy the two *subahs* of Bengal (including Orissā) and Oudh in their entirety and all Bihar except the *mahals* yielding 12 lakhs reserved for the Peshwā, and each was strictly forbidden to interfere with the other's share. [*Itihāsik Patravyavahar*, n. 35 and 36.] This meant in effect that the province was merely partitioned between these two Maratha leaders as their respective spheres of influence, each of them simply contracted not to encroach on the other's special hunting ground, but was left free to do what he liked in his own part of the *subah* without any moral or legal responsibility to protect the payer of the blackmail in the other parts of his dominion.

The Nawāb found that in return for all his expenditure he had now got not an assured protector, but only two blood-suckers instead of one. The Peshwā's breach of his promise and callous desertion of the Nawāb's cause threw Alivardi into an agony of despair and rage. Smarting under the 'Punic bad faith' of the Marātha race, he decided to use the same weapon to free his people from their intolerable tyranny. His own situation was well nigh desperate. The two successive years' invasions had more than half dried up his revenue, and at the same time his coffers had been exhausted by the heavy tribute that he had to pay to the Emperor on his accession,* the subsidy exacted by Balāji in 1743, the pay and bounty of the vastly increased army that he had now to maintain for the defence of the province, and the cost of the munitions and equipment consumed in the war. His Government was bankrupt. His soldiers were worn out by the fatigue of campaigning every year. He himself was in poor health and unable to march out at their head. Therefore, a new campaign against the elusive Marathas in the fierce summer just then commencing, had to be avoided by all means.

### § 20. *Alivardi massacres the Maratha generals at an interview*

The Nawāb took counsel with his leading Afghān general, Ghulām Mustafa Khān, who undertook to bring Bhāskar and his chief officers to a friendly interview and there massacre them, if he was promised the governorship of Bihar as his reward for the deed. Alivardi agreed, and the plan was matured in strict secrecy. Under Bhāskar there had come this year twenty Marātha generals and two Muhammadans, namely Shahāmat Khān and Alibhāi Qarāwwal. Alivardi sent Rājah Jānakiram (his *diwān*) and Mustafa Khān to Bhāskar's camp at Dignagar.

* Alivardi had paid the Emperor 40 *lakhs* of Rupees on account of the property of the deceased Sarāfrāz Khan and 40 *lakhs* as his own *peshkash*, in addition to the annual surplus of the revenue of the three provinces (which was one *kror* of Rupees acc. to *Siyar*, 107). He also presented, at his accession, 3 *lakhs* to the imperial *wazir* and one *lakh* to the Nizām, besides smaller sums to other nobles. (*Riyāz*, 325, *Siyar*, ii. 107.)

The two envoys declared that the Nawāb was anxious to end these disputes by paying an annual *chauth* that might be fixed by mutual agreement and that for such a settlement a personal discussion between the two chiefs was necessary. Jānakirām and Mustafa took the most solemn oaths possible for a Hindu and a Muslim respectively that no treachery would be done to Bhāskar's party if they visited the Nawāb. Then Bhāskar agreed to come and an auspicious day (the second day of the Bengali new year, 31st March, 1744) was fixed for the interview.

The place selected for the meeting was the plain of Mānkarā, four miles south of the modern Berhampur Cantonment station. Bhāskar reached Mānkarā on 31st March. Portions of his army remained behind at Katwā and Palāshi (18 miles south of Mānkarā). Bhāskar advanced on foot to the big tent of interview and was welcomed at its door by Jānakirām and Mustafa Khān. With him were 21 generals, the only absentee being Raghuji Gāikwād who had always suspected Alivardi of treachery and on this day had stayed behind on the plea of illness. Besides these there were some twenty other attendants of lower rank. The party began to walk up the carpeted floor of the tent towards the far end of it where the Nawāb was sitting on a dais with his officers. They had barely crossed one-fourth of the way, when the Nawāb, after satisfying himself that Bhāskar had really come, cried out, "Kill these wretched misbelievers." Then the Nawāb's soldiers rushed out of their places of hiding in the wings, hemmed the Marātha visitors round and after some exchange of blows cut all of them down.

As soon as the massacre began, the Nawāb got out of the tent by the back door, joined his men behind it, and ordered a charge on the Marātha general's escort. These leaderless men fled without making a stand anywhere. Raghuji Gāikwād, the sole survivor of the massacre, had galloped away with his contingent at the first tumult, reached the camps at Palāshi and Katwā, and quickly set off for his home with the troops present there and as much property and baggage as could be loaded quickly. Their roving bands fled to Nāgpur from every part of these provinces. Bengal and Orissā were thus cleared of the enemy at one blow. The Nawāb distributed a bounty of ten *lakhs* of Rupees to his

troops The Emperor, at his recommendation, conferred promotions and titles on all the officers of the Bengal army.*

The three eastern provinces enjoyed peace and happiness for fifteen months after the death of Bhāskar. The Rājah of Nāgpur was in no position to avenge the murder of his generals immediately His money difficulties had grown worse by now, and his old friction with the Peshwā had recurred in many a quarter in violation of the compromise effected in 1743, because even after that agreement each was trying to encroach on the other's special sphere

§ 21 *Nawab's money difficulties and exactions*

For the time being the Marātha menace had been dispelled, but the Nawāb's Government was at its wits' end for money The three annual raids had caused an enormous loss of wealth and shrinkage of revenue As the Peshwā's agent at the Court of the Nawāb told him in December 1746, Raghuji, after coming to your country has plundered and destroyed ten times the value of the *chauth* of the province" At the same time, the Nawāb had to increase his defensive forces to an immense extent, and his army bill alone amounted to one *kror* and eighty *lakhs* of Rupees a year The result was that bankruptcy stared him in the face and he was driven to raise money by every means fair or foul

In 1743 he had levied a war tax of Rs 2,000 from each of the three European nations trading in his dominions, but it was a mere drop in the ocean of his need Early in July 1744 he made "a very extraordinary demand" on the English chief of the Qāsimbāzār factory, "setting forth that the English carried on the trade of the whole world, (they formerly) used to have but four or five ships, but now brought 40 or 50 sails, which belonged not to the Company; that for five years he had done them daily service, but they had him not in remembrance, (and now) that he was engaged in defending the country against the Marāthas, instead of assisting (him) they supplied the enemy with powder and ball He therefore ordered them to refrain

***Siyar*, ii 134-136, *Riyaz* 350-352 Letter from Chandarnagar to Pondichery, 12th May (N S), Calcutta letter to Company, 3rd August Yusuf 66 Karam 20*b*-21*b*.

(from) doing any business at any place, unless (they) supplied him with two months' pay for his troops, amounting to about three millions of Rupees." Three days afterwards (10th July) the Nawāb set *peons* on the European merchants at Murshidābād and issued orders to all parts of the country to stop trading by the Europeans.

From the Bengal letter of 8th November 1744 we learn: "Horse and foot were gone to impede business at the *qarā ārangs* (i.e. factories of coarse cotton cloth). The Nawāb went on seizing and whipping every person. Preet Cotmah was tortured till he agreed to pay Rs. 1,35,000, and (was then) delivered to another tormentor to make him agree to three *lakhs*. The (English Company's) *vakils* were kept two days at the *darbar* without eating."

The English Company, in order to reopen their business in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, were at last (Oct. 1744) glad to beat the Nawāb down to Rs. three and a half *lakhs*, besides which they had to pay Rs. 30,500 to his generals and officers in Murshidābād, Rs. 8,000 at Patna, and Rs. 5,000 at Dāccā. [Bengal letter, 9 February, 1745.]

The French at Chandarnagar suffered equally, considering the small value of their trade in comparison with that of the English. In December the Chandarnagar Council was faced with the Nawāb's demand for one *lakh* of Rupees, and had ultimately to pay Rs. 45,000 under the name of a loan. So, the Superior Council of Pondichery issued absolute orders to levy from the inhabitants of the French villages in Bengal a tax which was estimated to yield Rs. 25,000. We thus see that the pressure in the last resort was passed on to the helpless Indian peasant, as is always the case.

### § 22. *Afghan general Mustafa Khān quarrels with Alivardi, 1745*

A year of peace followed the massacre of Bhāskar Rāo and other Marātha generals, and then in 1745 a domestic revolution turned Alivardi's strongest allies into his bitterest enemies and the divided and weak condition of the province resulting from this internal dissension lured the Marāthas to renew their raids with a prospect of easy success which would have been otherwise im-

possible Bengal has no indigenous race capable of the long continued exertion, the ready submission to discipline, the concerted action in large bodies, and the cool and steady fighting that are required in resisting the hardier races of invaders coming from the south or the west War, as distinct from the mere guarding of palaces or convoys and the police protection of revenue-collectors and custom-officers, had not been the profession of any class of its people since the imposition of Mughal peace two centuries ago Therefore, the army of the Nawābs of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā, after they had become independent of the central Government at Delhi, was filled entirely with Afghāns (both infantry and cavalry) and Hindu foot-musketeers of Baksar, with a sprinkling of Sayyids of Barha and other foreign settlers in Upper India and *Bahelia* musketeers from Oudh Of these the Afghāns were by far the most numerous and efficient element Their proud consciousness of superiority, inborn martial habits, and strong clannish cohesion made them quite irresistible if they could be only united under one great leader

Hitherto the Nawāb's right-hand man had been Ghulām Mustafa Khān, the foremost of his Afghān officers Mustafa's personal achievement in defeating the first year's Marātha raid and his successful *coup* in destroying Bhāskar in the third year, had raised him almost to a position of equality with Alivardi. His reputation as a brave man and veteran general was deservedly unrivalled, and he had gathered in his own command a compact body of 9,000 Afghān horsemen besides a force of infantry His armed strength, capacity and ambition made him a formidable danger to the Nawāb's throne

Alivardi in his hour of sore need had lightly promised him the governorship of Bihār as his reward if he could murder Bhāskar, but he now shrank from the fulfilment of his promise and tried to placate Mustafa by deferring a decision and sending him only smooth messages Mustafa was justly angry at this breach of faith His tone became haughtier and more insistent as his heart grew sick with hope deferred, till an armed conflict between him and the Nawāb seemed imminent

But some other Afghān generals, like Shamshir Khān and Sardār Khān, and even a few of the lieutenants of Mustafa, were won over by Alivardi's gold and favours, and Mustafa on seeing

the force gathering under the Nawāb at Murshidābād, shrank from delivering an attack on him. He resigned the Nawāb's service and demanded the due salary of his troops, amounting to 17 *lakhs* of Rupees, which the Nawāb paid at once without holding any muster or examination of accounts, and thus promptly got rid of the menace to his throne and capital (February, 1745). The discontented general set off for Patna, determined to wrest the throne of Bihār from Alivardi's deputy Zain-ud-din Ahmad Haibat Jang. On the way he forcibly took away some guns and elephants of the Government from Rājmahal, stormed the fort of Mungir, and appeared before Patna (March 14, 1745) in open rebellion. If Alivardi could seize the throne of the three provinces from the lawful *subahdār* Sarfaraz Khan, why should not he (Mustafa) do the same from Alivardi? He too held a conquering sword in his hand, which was the best of imperial *sanads* in that age, as he openly said, in reply to a conciliatory message sent by Zain-ud-din. [*Siyar*, ii. 141.]

## § 23. *Mustafa Khan assaults Patna city.*

Zain-ud-din was warned by Alivardi of the coming danger and urged to save himself by fleeing to Murshidābād by the northern side of the Ganges, so as to avoid Mustafa's route. He chose the manlier part of defending the province in his charge. Hurrying back to his capital from Tirhut, he rapidly organised a most efficient plan for guarding Patna. Calling up his detachments from the outposts and all local nobles and loyal zamindārs to his side, he soon assembled about 14,000 fighters round him. His armed camp in Jafar Khān's garden, east of Patna City, was surrounded on the land side by a ring of wooden towers (*sangar*) for musketeers, and these were joined together by curtains and continued up to the embankment for keeping out the flood from the marsh south-west of the city (called *jallā*). A deep wet ditch was dug outside this line of defence and the earth thus excavated was thrown up in the form of a rampart outside the mud and water. On the bastions guns were mounted, and sections of the walls were distributed among the different captains.

By the middle of March, Mustafa Khan's force had swollen to 14,000 troopers, partly his own retainers and partly adventurers who had gathered round him in search of employment.

With him were about 50 pieces of artillery and 150 elephants, but his Afghāns made little use of cannon, though they carried firelocks to the field and used them on suitable occasions. Their horses were the best available in India, the cheapest of them having cost not less than four to five hundred Rupees. Their gorgeous saddle and accoutrement and gilded armour made a splendid show.

Arriving before Patna about two hours after dawn on March 14, 1745, Mustafa Khān halted in the numerous mango-groves south of the city. Forming his men in two divisions, each six to seven thousand strong, he sent one of them under Buland Khān Ruhela to turn the rear of the defences, while he himself led the other against the last stockade which was held by the Rājah of Tikāri and other zamindārs. The local levies broke and fled at the first charge of these compact bodies of seasoned warriors, and the Nawāb's officers who made a stand found themselves unsupported except by a handful of personal friends. The field was quickly swept clear up to the position where Zainuddin himself stood thinly guarded.

Mustafa now pushed close up to him, and the Afghān's victory seemed certain, when a musket shot killed Mustafa's elephant driver, which induced that general to jump down from its back lest the uncontrollable beast should stampede to his rear and his followers interpret the movement as their general's flight. But his action in dismounting produced exactly the effect that he wanted to avoid; his men concluded that he had been shot off his elephant like his *māhut* a few minutes before; they broke and fled, and Patna was saved.

For five days and nights after this, the two armies stood facing each other in their respective positions, merely exchanging fruitless gunfire. At last Mustafa realised that he was powerless to storm the city and camp and began his retreat on the 21st. Zainuddin could not at first credit the news that such a great threat had passed away so easily, hence, there was no effective pursuit of the enemy. By way of Mithāpur, Naubatpur, and Muhib-Alipur the baffled Afghān general retired south-westwards to the Son river. Soon afterwards Alivardi arrived at Patna and joined in the pursuit. Mustafa was now quickly expelled

from Bihar and chased as far as Zamānia (opposite Ghazipur). The rebel took refuge in the village at the foot of Chunar fort, which belonged to the *subah* of Oudh, and Alivardi and Zainuddin returned to their respective capitals in April [*Siyar*, ii 137—140, Yusuf, 72–80, Karam 27*a*—31*a*.]

*§ 24. Fall of Mustafa Khan*

Meantime, Raghuji Bhonsle, at the invitation of Mustafa had invaded the province, which hastened the return of Alivardi to Bengal and detained him there. This news encouraged Mustafa to come out of Chunar, just before the arrival of the monsoon rains which would make campaigning impossible for the imperialists and give him time to enrich himself by plunder. He entered the Shahābād district and reached the zamindāri of Udwant Singh Ujjainia, the owner of Jagadispur, who had long been hostile to the governor of Bihār.

On hearing of this development, Zainuddin promptly issued from Patna at the head of 13,000 men, forded the Son river at Koilwar, and next day advanced 12 miles south-west by south to Karham on the edge of the jungle of Jagadispur. Two miles beyond this village the enemy were sighted and the battle joined (June 20, 1745). Mustafa's forces and equipment had been greatly depleted by his lack of money, as his Patna adventure had ended in failure and he had exhausted all his treasure. But he charged desperately. Nothing could stop him, the Nawāb's vanguard was put to flight, but just then Mustafa was shot dead by a musket-ball. A servant of the Nawāb mounted the rebel's elephant, cut off his head, and exposed it on the point of a spear. At the sight of it the Afghān army broke and fled to the village of Magror under the leadership of Mustafa's son, Murtaza, and other surviving officers. Thus one great danger passed away from the Nawāb and he was free to deal effectively with another which had assailed him at the same time. This was the fourth incursion of the Bargis.* [*Siyar*, ii 146—148.]

* *Mithapur*, the site of the Patna Junction Railway Station. *Naubatpur* is 13 miles s. w. of it. *Muhib-Ali-pur*, on the east bank of the Son, is 19 miles s. w. of Naubatpur and three miles s. of Mussowrah. *Koilwar* is 8 miles e. and *Jagadispur* is 18 miles s. w. of Arrah town. *Karham* (spelt

## § 25 Fourth Maratha invasion

When Mustafa left Murshidābād in open mutiny (c February 20, 1745), he wrote to Raghuji informing him of his intended invasion of Bihar and inviting him to co-operate in humbling Alivardi by repeating the Marātha raid The opportunity was as tempting to Raghuji as it was unexpected He immediately marched at the head of 14,000 horse to Orissā (March) and captured the city of Katak without a blow. Its governor, Rājah Durlabhrām, (the son of the Nawāb's *diwān* Jānakirām), was a timid priest-led sluggard, and his forces were quite inadequate for resistance, while the Nawāb's absence in full strength in Bihār for fighting Mustafa removed all hope of succour coming from him to Katak After shutting himself up in Barābāti, the fort of Katak, for a fortnight, Durlabhrām was so ill-advised as to pay a visit to Raghuji in his camp, where he and his party were all made prisoners Durlabhrām was kept in captivity at Nāgpur, and it was only after paying three *lakhs* of Rupees that Janakiram could secure his son's release nearly two years later (January, 1747) The fort of Katak, however, held out under the gallant Abdul Aziz and a garrison of only 400 men. But outside its walls all Orissā up to Medinipur passed into the hands of the Marāthas (April) Even Abdul Aziz at last surrendered the fort on condition of being paid his arrears of salary

Alivardi, with Mustafa still threatening Bihār, was then in no position to undertake a campaign in Orissā He, therefore, deemed it politic to temporise by sending envoys to Raghuji to negotiate for peace Raghuji knew his strength and demanded three *krors* of Rupees Alivardi prolonged the discussions for two months and a half, till at the end of June he heard of the death of Mustafa, when he broke off negotiations On hearing of Durlabhrām's captivity, Alivardi had sent Sarmast Khan, one

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as *Khurowence* in *Indian Atlas*, sheet 103) is 5 m south of Arrah and 15 m due east of Jagadispur *Arwal* is 8 miles s of Muhib-Alipur

There is a *Mugror*, 22 miles west of Bhabhua subdivisional town and 14 miles w of Chainpur, and a *Kheyra* 3 miles north of Mugror Both these places are on the banks of the Karamnasa river, in the Mirzapur district of the modern U P and only a few miles beyond the present south-western frontier of Bihar (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 103) *Makri-Khu* of *Siyar* (ii 148) should be corrceted into *Magror-Khera*

of his Pathans, to Raghuji to negotiate for his release. Raghuji despatched Nilqant as his envoy to the Nawab. While this Pathan was in Raghuji's camp, the Marathas brought in 200 men as prisoners and cut off their noses and ears. Alivardi, angry at this act of atrocity when negotiations were going on, at first ordered Nilqant to be put to death by way of reprisal, but was induced to release him as he had been given a pledge of safety. Thus the peace was ruptured. [S. P. D., xxvii. 11.]

In June Raghuji entered the Bardwān district from Orisā, and seized seven lakhs of revenue. Immediately afterwards there was great confusion throughout West Bengal and "it prevented business from going on at several *thanas*." But a month later the raiders vacated the district and removed to Birbhum to canton for the rains (July.) Mustafa was now dead, and Alivardi was guarding Murshidabad in full strength. [Siyar, ii. 149-150; S. P. D., xxvii. 11.]

### § 26. *Raghuji invades Bihar, fight with Alivardi*

After passing a month in cantonments, Raghuji went to S. Bihar for five weeks (August-September.) In response to repeated appeals from the remnant of Mustafa's army, which was blockaded by the loyal zamindārs at Magror, and its promise to join his banners, he had marched into Bihār. By way of the jungles of north Birbhum and the Khargpur hills (south of Mungir), he arrived near Fatuā which he pillaged and burnt, and then turned south-west, plundering Shaikhpurā and many villages in the Tikari zamindari till he struck the Son river.

After fording it he advanced to Magror, rescued the Afghāns and their property, and by this junction of forces gathered round himself an army of 14,000 men consisting of swift tireless Marātha light horse (10,000) and redoubtable Afghan fighters (2,000 men under Mustafa Khan's son Murtaza and 2,000 troops of Pathān zamindārs.) Next passing into Bhojpur (the Arrah district in West Bihār) he laid a contribution of one *lakh* on its Rājah, a portion of which was paid down and the balance was being arranged for when news came of the Nawāb's arrival at Patna. The Bhojpur chief immediately stopped further pay-

ment Raghuji and his allies recrossed the Son at Arwāl and moved north towards Patna, till they sighted the enemy two marches from that capital [S P D, xxvii 7, *Siyar*, ii 151 Yusuf 81-90, Karam 22*b*-23*b* and 31*b* ]

In the meantime, Alivardi had set out from his capital immediately after hearing of Raghuji's move towards Bihār With 12,000 picked troops he hastened to Patna, but finding that city no longer in danger and the enemy gone away to the south, he halted for a few days at Bānkipur, to refresh his troops and replenish his material Then he resumed his march in regular order with a fully appointed army and powerful artillery, *via* Naubatpur, to overtake the Marāthas But the enemy kept moving in front of him, always out of gunshot, and plundering the villages along their route, till the Rani's Tank near Muhib-Ali-pur was reached, where Raghuji had his camp Here the Nawāb's vanguard under Mir Jafar surprised the Marātha Rājah, who was soon surrounded by the rest of the Nawāb's forces The other divisions of the Marātha army fought hard to rescue their master, who ultimately escaped through the sector of Shamshir Khān in consequence of that Afghān general's slackness or, more probably, his acceptance of a bribe Meantime, Alivardi had come up by forced marches and now joined in the chase of the Marāthas It was during this week's fighting that a spent bullet knocked out a tooth of Raghuji and two of his officers, Mahimāji Bābā and Shankarāji Bābā, were killed by cannon balls on November 14 and 20 [S P D, xx 74, xxvii 11, *Siyar*, ii. 151-152 ]

In the rapidity of his march the Nawāb had far out-stripped his baggage and tents, and this brought him to a halt for some days His Begam—he had only one wife throughout his life—sent envoys on her own initiative to make peace with Raghuji in order to give repose to her war-weary lord Raghuji would have gladly accepted the offer, but Mir Habib advised him to make a dash upon Murshidābād and loot the capital of Bengal which was without the means of defence during the absence of the Nawāb and his army From the bank of the Son, the Marāthas doubled back towards Bengal, Alivardi hurrying at their heels and his army suffering terrible privations from scarcity

of food.* By way of Munir and Patna he turned towards Bengal. At Bhagalpur, on the deep stream of Champanagar, Raghuji at the head of 6,000 men turned back and surprised Alivardi whose escort was only 600, but by severe fighting the Nawab gained time for the rest of his army to come up and drive the Marathas away.

## § 27 *Marathas in Bengal, 1746*

The Nagpur Rājah, by following the jungle path, arrived near Murshidābād on 21st December, one day before Alivardi, who had marched by the regular military road. During that one day the Marāthas burnt the suburbs across the river opposite Murshidabād and many of the villages around, such as Jhapāndah and the garden of Mir Jafar. Raghuji remained in the south-west of the city for three or four days, but on Alivardi's advancing, he fell back on Katwā. At the Rāni's Tank west of Katwā, a severe battle was fought, in which the Marāthas were defeated and driven back with heavy loss, their rear-guard was cut off and half their baggage plundered. Raghuji himself then went back to Nāgpur, leaving Mir Habib with 2 to 3 thousand Marāthas and 4 thousand Afghāns to continue the raid. The Nawāb and his soldiers alike were worn out by their two hard campaigns in Bihār in the course of nine months, and had therefore to halt at Murshidābād to recuperate. No effective action could be taken against the Marāthas who maintained their camp at Katwā, while their detachments roamed all over West Bengal, and even threatened Murshidābād.

At the beginning of March 1746, the Nawāb sent a strong force under Atāullah Khān to Bardwān, who drove the Marāthas out of the district, in consequence of which Qāsimbāzār island was freed from their menace. The Nawāb himself went

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* "From Patna the Nawab made two marches towards Raghuji's position. During the two months that Raghuji was staying in this province, he did not spare a single village in the whole country, so that no provision could reach the Nawab's army. Owing to his encircling the Nawab day and night, the country is disturbed, the Nawab's provision supply has been cut off and grain sells at Rs. 2 a *seer* in his camp. So, he has marched back to Patna, followed by Raghuji." [Marathi newsletter of 27 Dec. 1745, in *S.P.D.*, xxvii. 7.] *Siyar* (ii. 153) supports this.

to Bardwān, but the enemy having been expelled from Bengal, he returned to his capital in April. Thus Bihār and Bengal enjoyed peace for a time but Orissā remained entirely in Marātha possession. Mir Habib continued at Medinipur the whole season, and looted Hijli at the mouth of the Ganges and its neighbourhood. [*Siyar*, ii. 153-154. *S. P. D.*, xxvii. 11.]

### § 28. *Second Afghan mutiny, 1746*

During the rainy season of 1746, Marātha roving bands interrupted the coming of grain to Murshidābād by the northern route. The Nawāb ascribed it to the negligence or treacherous collusion of the two Afghān generals whom he had posted to guard the roads. Their slackness in the fight with Raghuji on the Son river in November 1745 had shown how false and unreliable servants they were, and now they were said to have formed a secret alliance with Raghuji for overthrowing Alivardi and sharing the three *subahs* with the Marātha Rājah. So, in June 1746 the Nawāb dismissed Shamshir Khān and Sardār Khān, his highest Afghān generals after Mustafa, with their six thousand men. They retired to their homes in Dārbhangā, only to create a revolution in Patna a year and a half afterwards. [*Siyar*, ii. 154, 156.]

## CHAPTER IV

### The Eastern Provinces 1746-1756

### § 1 *Emperor promises chauth to the Marāthas*

The summer and monsoon months of 1746 passed in comparative tranquillity for Bengal and Bihār Early in November the Nawāb received a letter from the Emperor Muhammad Shāh announcing that he had agreed to make peace with the Marathas by promising to Rājah Shāhu 25 *lakhs* of Rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal and ten *lakhs* as that of Bihar These amounts were to be annually transmitted by the *subahdār* from Bengal to Delhi and there handed over to the agents of the Maratha king People hoped that such a permanent arrangement would save the province from disturbances in future and restore the security of trade [Chandarnagar letter of 24 November, 1746 cited in Pondichery letter of 31 January, 1747 (N S), Calcutta to Company, 30 November, 1746]

At the end of this November, Raghunāth Jayārām, a Marātha agent at Murshidābād, demanded the *chauth* for Bihār in the name of the Peshwā,—that for Bengal having been promised to Raghuji by Shāhu The Nawāb replied, "The Emperor too has sent me a *farmān* about the *chauth* for Bengal, stating that the *chauth* has been assigned to the Peshwā and that his money should be sent to the imperial Court I am writing to the Peshwā making my own representation [on the points in dispute] Patna is mine, Bengal too is mine I ought to act treating both provinces as one The *chauth* for the two is inseparable" The Maratha envoy objected, saying, 'How can the Peshwa's *chauth* and Raghuji's be considered as one and an indivisible thing? The latter is your enemy, entering your realm he has plundered and destroyed ten times the amount of the *chauth* The Peshwā on the other hand, has been entirely your friend He gave you armed help in the past, and since then he has been exerting himself to settle your affairs He has done his work, you now do yours and regulate your realm If you fully pay up the subsidy for Bihār, then there will be no delay in despatching your affairs" Alivardi closed the discus-

sion by saying that all his trust was in the Peshwā, and that the business would be done after the Peshwā had considered the representation he was writing to him about the position of his Government He evaded making any definite promise of payment [*S P D*, xx 29 and 49 ]

The inner meaning of the Nawāb's policy was that he was not prepared to make a separate agreement for the Bihār *chauth* with the Peshwā, when there was no guarantee that the Peshwā on being satisfied as to his own gain would not leave Raghuji a free hand to raid and tax Bengal and Orissā, instead of defending the three provinces together, which was the Emperor's object in promising the *chauth* The black-mail for the entire North-eastern country must be one charge payable to one authority and not two separate amounts payable to two mutually independent enemy chiefs

### § 2 *The controversy about chauth*

The point at issue between the Nawāb and the Peshwā comes out very clearly in the letters of Hingane, the Marātha envoy at the Court of Delhi, who wrote to Alivardi "By order of the Emperor, the Peshwā has settled the terms of peace concerning Bengal with King [Shāhu] and sent word to Raghuji forbidding him to enter the province of Bengal Write to your officers to remain at their posts in composure of mind and send the imperial revenue in full, as contracted by the Emperor, to Rājah Shāhu through the Peshwā Then the disturbances in your country will cease" [*S P D*, ii 4 and 10 ]

Alivardi replied to the Emperor "Your Majesty has written to me to the above effect, and I have also received a letter from Bālāji saying that in case Raghuji invades Bengal the Peshwā's generals [*i e*, Holkar and Sindhiā] have been kept ready with their troops on the frontier of Bundelkhand to come to the Patna and Gayā districts for my defence And yet I have been repeatedly getting letters from Raghuji to inform me that he is coming Then, what kind of settlement is this? If a definite agreement has been concluded with Rajah Shāhu, why should Raghuji come at all? And for what reason has Bālāji Rao written thus? Why is not this uncertainty yet removed?

So long as this apprehension remains, I, too, cannot afford to disband my army and my realm cannot be cultivated The districts on the [western] bank of the Ganges have been devastated and not a *kauri* is being yielded by them If some few Rupees are realised from this side [of the river], it is spent on my troops Whence is the revenue coming and from what source can I send it? In this state of things, if Raghuji or his army does not make any incursion this year, then at the end of the year my militia will be sent back to their homes, and whatever revenue is left [after discharging their dues] I shall send to His Majesty's Court"

Alivardi also wrote to the same effect to Hingané· "When terms have been settled with Rājah Shāhu, why is there an apprehension of Raghuji coming here? He is the Rājah's servant, a friendly agreement has been made [with the Rājah] about this province, now call him back and restrain him When a man like the Peshwā himself has apprehensions about Raghuji invading Bengal, how can I be expected to disband my army and hope to see my country populated again? Whence can I send the full revenue to the Emperor? Therefore, I am determined to remain prepared for war [with Raghuji] If he comes, I shall fight him, if he does not come, I shall remit such revenue as may be collected at the end of the year You should write to your generals that when Raghuji sets out to invade this country, they should come to Bengal by the Rāmgarh, Pachet or Orissa route, without waiting to be summoned or written to"

In reply to the objections of Alivardi, the Emperor wrote the following letter of reprimand, under pressure from the Marātha agent at his Court —"Assuredly Raghuji is not going to Bengal. Why then are you maintaining an army? Disband it and by properly reassuring your subjects cause that country to be populated fully Why cling to your suspicions? Send the revenue here in full quittance If there is any deficit in collection, exactly that amount will be debited from Bālāji Rāo's account His subsidy (*tankhā*) has been assigned upon you, and I have also asked him to realise as my collecting agent (*sazāwal*) whatever surplus remains due to my Government. So, send the full amount quickly."

Hingané also reassured the Nawāb in similar terms "By a hundred thousand paths has the Peshwā confined Raghuji to the Deccan By 19 routes out of 20 he is prevented from entering Bengal If ever he sets out by a single [unblocked] path, then as our generals [Holkar and Sindhiā] are posted on the frontier of Bundelkhand, in fear of them he will not go to Bengal And even if he does go, they will hasten [after him] and chastise him You remain watchful at your place and send the imperial revenue in full clearance"

In short, Alivardi chose the wiser and manlier part of basing the defence of his realm on a strong army under his own control, instead of depending upon a protective force, maintained at his cost, to be sent out by the Peshwā for supporting him in the event of Raghuji's invasion, probably after half the province had been desolated and plundered and his subjects kept in perpetual alarm by the palpably defenceless condition of their ruler.

§ 3. *Policy and plans of Raghuji Bhonsle in 1746.*

We shall now turn to the state of things at the Court of Bhonslé Raghuji after leaving Bengal and Bihār (in April 1746) came to Nāgpur in September, and was beset by his creditors Even when he received three *lakhs* of Rupees as the ransom of the deputy governor of Orissā (at the end of next December), he repaid no part of his debt After the *Dasaharā* (13 Sep 1746), he marched into Berār at the head of an army reduced to about 2000 *pāgā* and the same number of *silāhdār* horse, while his son Jānoji, who had been nominated to lead an expedition into Bengal, stayed at Nāgpur with only a thousand men under his banners

In the meantime, Mir Habib, dreading an attack by the Nawāb of Bengal in the coming cold weather, appealed piteously to Raghuji in October,—"If your army arrives here [at Katak] soon, so much the better If not, write what I should do" He agreed to pay a subsidy of eleven *lakhs* of Rupees to Raghuji, and Raghuji in return promised to send his troops for the defence of Orissā in the month of Kartik (October). But it was very difficult for Raghuji in his financial distress to fit out an expedition. A news-writer in his camp in Berār reported on 8th

December "Raghuji is enlisting men, but is unable to pay them in cash. He has decided to send a force into Bengal under Jānoji with the contingents of some officers [named here], none of whom has actually more than 100 to 500 men under him. They expect to muster ten thousand, which is very unlikely." Thus, there was delay in the Rajah's reinforcing Mīr Habib in Orissā [*S. P. D.*, xx. 41 and 44.]

### § 4. *Mir Jafar defeats Maratha army at Medinipur, December 1746.*

Mir Jafar, the *Bakhshi* or Army Chief of the Nawāb, though appointed deputy governor of Orissa, could not march out in the middle of 1746 for expelling the Marathas from that province, as he was forced to halt near the capital for strengthening his army with the new levies ordered by the Nawāb to replace the recently dismissed Afghān contigents of Shamshir Khan and Sardār Khān. At last, his ranks having been brought up to the necessary strength (about 7,500 men) and properly equipped, Mir Jafar marched into the Medinipur district in November and after one or two minor skirmishes fought a decisive battle with Mir Habib's lieutenant Sayyid Nur, near Medinipur about 12th December 1746. The Sayyid escaped towards Katak with the broken remnant of his army, but two of his head officers were killed. South of Balesar they were met and rallied by Mir Habib, who was returning after conquering Kanikā and dragging the Rajah of that place and his family into captivity. The general now hastened northwards to retrieve the situation. Arriving at Balesar, about 20th January 1747, Habib encamped two miles from the town, with 8,000 horse and 20,000 foot, and raised batteries along the Barā Balang river to oppose the advance of the Bengal army. Jānoji, who had just reached Katak with his own army, started northwards in order to reinforce Mir Habib [Bengal let. 22 Feb. 1747, letter from Pondichery, 31 Jan. 1747 (N.S.). *S. P. D.*, xx. 29. Yusuf 96-98.]

At this news, Mir Jafar, thinking that he was about to be outnumbered and enveloped by the Marāthas, lost heart, and without making any attempt to hold Medinipur, fled precipitately to Bardwān, abandoning some elephants and baggage of his army

to the enemy (Feb 1747) Thus the year 1747 began with an unexpected reversal of fortune for the Nawāb

Just then the Nawāb's arms were paralysed by treason among his most favoured and trusted generals Mir Jafar (his *Bakhshi*) and Atāullah (his *faujdar* of Rājmahal) formed a conspiracy to murder the Nawāb one day at their audience with him and then divide the thrones of Bengal and Bihār between themselves But the secret reached the Nawāb's ears, and Atāullah was forced to resign and Jafar's contingent was broken up and taken over by the Nawāb [*Siyar*, ii 157]

§ 5 *Alivardi's campaign against Janoji, March 1747*

Thus Alivardi was left alone to face the united Afghāns and Marāthas Mustafa Khān, Shamshir Khān Sardār Khān and other veterans of note were gone with their forces, and now he lost the services of his two best war-experienced kinsmen and generals familiar with his troops But nothing daunted, this old man of seventy-one personally took command of his army, marched out of his camp, and after fighting a severely contested battle near Bardwān (March 1747) defeated Jānoji and the entire Marātha army with heavy loss Thereafter the Marāthas had not the heart to face him again in the field They once more tried their old game of slipping past the Nawāb's flank and making a dash upon Murshidābād in his absence But so quick was Alivardi's return behind them that they were prevented from doing any damage to the capital, though they sacked and burnt some villages near it as usual So, the baffled raiders fled back to Medinipur, the Murshidābād and Bardwān districts were temporarily cleared of them, and at the approach of the rainy season the Nawāb returned to his capital [*Siyar*, ii 158]

During the whole of this year, 1747, the Marāthas remained in undisturbed possession of Orissā up to Medinipur Their stay in and about Balesar, "has in a great measure prevented the currency of trade and occasioned a scarcity of all sorts of grain, the country people flying from their habitations upon every trifling rumour of their entering into this province" [Calcutta letter of 24 Feb 1748]

### § 6. Patna governor enlists Darbhanga Afghans

We have seen how six thousand Afghān troops under Shamsher Khan, Sardar Khan and other generals of that race, had left the Nawab's service in June 1746 and gone to their homes in North Bihar. Zainuddin Ahmad Haibat Jang, the governor of Patna, had pressed on Alivardi the bold strategy of offensive which had led to the expulsion of Bhāskar from Katwā in September 1742, and he had also defeated the formidable assault of Mustafa Khan upon Patna city in March 1745 and afterwards (in June) had slain him in battle in the Shāhābād district. These achievements had given him boundless conceit about his own capacity and he dreamt of seizing the throne of the three provinces by overthrowing the aged Alivardi. For such an enterprise there could be no better instrument than these Afghan veterans of many a former war of the Nawab and their generals who enjoyed the highest military repute through the entire province.

Zainuddin became eager to enlist these Afghāns in his own army. He wrote to Alivardi that so many able-bodied and expert soldiers, fretting idly at home in Dārbhangā with no means of livelihood in sight of them, constituted a formidable menace to the peace of his province. And yet it was beyond the Bihār governor's armed strength to drive them out of the province. The best solution of the problem, therefore, was to keep them out of mischief by taking 3,000 of their men and all their officers into his service, if the Nawāb would meet this additional military expenditure out of the revenue of Bengal. Alivardi grudgingly consented; and Zainuddin sent his agent to Dārbhangā to invite the Afghāns to come to Patna and enter his army.

They wanted to know the terms of pay and service first, and were moreover not free from the suspicion that this invitation was a ruse of Alivardi to get them into his power and then crush them with ease. To settle the question more quickly and also to reassure their minds, Zainuddin asked them to come to Hajipur, opposite Patna and on their side of the Ganges. Leaving Dārbhangā on 10th December, 1747, they reached Hajipur on the 16th and remained encamped there for a fortnight, while negotiations were being constantly exchanged with the governor

ir Patna Zainuddin, blinded by his eagerness to secure these valuable soldiers and make friends with their powerful leaders, visited them in their camp at Hājipur quite unattended, and when early in January 1748 they came over to Patna and halted in Jafar Khān's garden, he ordered the guards to be removed from their path and also from his palace of *Chihil satun*, in order to leave no ground for suspicion in the minds of the Afghāns

### § 7 *Afghan soldiers murder the governor, seize and plunder Patna*

The terms were at last settled and 13th January was fixed for the ceremonial presentation of the Afghān chiefs and their retainers During the Court held for the purpose, there was an immense and boisterous crowd of three to four thousand Afghān soldiers fully armed, under Shamshir Khān, in the street leading to the palace, while the Audience Hall (*Chihil satun*) was thronged with another band of 500 Afghāns under Murād Sher Khan, who had come first and who after presenting his followers one by one, told them to take leave of the governor in order to make room for Shamshir Khān's men At this farewell ceremony, one Abdur Rashid Khān, according to their preconcerted plan, stabbed at Zainuddin with his waist-dagger, but his hand shook so much from nervousness that the weapon had no effect Then Murād Sher Khān started up and with one tremendous blow of his sword cut Zainuddin into two from the shoulder-blade to the pelvis

Then followed a general assault and plunder of the governor's officers and attendants, many of whom were slain or wounded, some after an attempt at self-defence and others helplessly A few escaped after being stripped of their robes and arms The whole palace and city were now in uproar and alarm, but the surprised and out-numbered royal troops could do nothing without a leader or known plan of defence The porters and guards fled from their posts in the harem, but Zainuddin's widow promptly closed the gates and thus saved the women's quarters from an immediate sack No stand was made against the Afghāns, who seized the murdered governor's aged father Haji Ahmad and tortured him for seventeen days to make him divulge the

hiding place of his treasure till at last (on 30th January) death released him from his suffering. Guards were placed round the palaces of the two murdered nobles and thus Zainuddin's wife and children became prisoners. The entire city passed into the hands of the Afghans and the people were subjected to frightful oppression and insult for the sake of extorting money. The news that a king of their own race had again risen in Afghanistan and had captured Kabul and Qandahār almost unopposed, and was advancing victoriously upon Delhi, had emboldened the Darbhanga Afghans to do these acts of violence and usurpation. They dreamt of a return of the days of Sher Shah, another Afghan of Bihār who had driven out the Mughal from the throne of Delhi and given the sovereignty of India to an Afghān dynasty once again.

For three months (13th January to 16th April, 1748) Bihār tasted Afghan rule. But it was a quite different type of Afghān rule from the strong orderly and beneficent administration which Sher Shah had given to the province of his birth two centuries before.

Haji Ahmad's buried treasure was dug out from beneath the stone of the Prophet's footprint where he used to keep it concealed. Sixty to seventy *lakhs* of Rupees in gold and silver coins besides jewellery were secured in his house. Zainuddin's house yielded about three *lakhs* according to popular report, but only a few thousands according to another statement. "During their few days of power the Afghāns robbed and dishonoured the people of Patna to an unspeakable extent." "In the same way they surrounded the houses of the great men of the city and robbed them. Plunder and sack by the Ruhelas raged in the city and its environs; the life, property and family honour of multitudes were destroyed, and the signs of Doomsday appeared." [Salimullah, 120*a*. Yusuf 109-116. Karam 33*b*. *Siyar* ii. 159-163.]

## § 8. *Gathering of Afghan army under rebel chiefs.*

After seizing the Government of Patna, Shamshir Khān encamped outside in Jafar Khān's garden, leaving Murād Sher Khan in charge of the city. Knowing that Alivardi was sure to come and call him to account for his misdeeds, he prepared him-

self for the coming contest by increasing his army with feverish haste and lavish expenditure of money on Afghan recruits and summoning his tribesmen from all sides to his standard "This year Afghans swarmed out of the ground like white ant- Every day the citizens of Patna were roused by the noise of kettle-drums five or six times, and on inquiry learnt that an Afghān captain named so-and-so had come from such and such a place with his contingent of so many men to enlist under Shamshir Khān or Sardār Khān' and was marching through the town to the camp in full military pomp In this way nearly 40,000 horse and a somewhat smaller number of infantry were gathered round the Afghān leaders in the course of three months,—the cavalry were almost entirely Pathāns and the foot consisted of a strong body of Bahelia musketeers under a *bakhshi* of their own In addition to these, the Marāthas then in Bengal, were repeatedly written to for coming to Patna and joining the Afghān army in an attack on Alivardi When the news came that the Nawāb was advancing from his capital towards Bihār, Shamshir Khān and Murād Sher Khān had the Nawāb's daughter, Amina Begam (the widow of Zainuddin), and her little daughter and son taken out of their palace in Patna, placed them in a bullock cart without a roof or awning over their heads and thus carried them in public exposure and humiliation through the streets of the city to their camp outside it It only made the citizens condemn and curse these shameless miscreants [*Siyar*, ii 162]

§ 9 *Alivardi marches into Bihar against the Afghān rebels*

The news of the tragic death of his son-in-law and brother, the widowhood and humiliation of his daughter, and the loss of the entire province of Bihār threw Alivardi into the deepest grief and depression of spirit The Nawāb held a council and offered everyone of his followers a free choice between staying at home or accompanying him in that dangerous enterprise. As for himself, he told them, his heart was set on death in honourable fight rather than bearing such sorrow and humiliation any longer They all vowed to follow him to the death Loans were hastily raised from far and near, and the soldiers' dues were cleared in part Efficient arrangements were made for the protection of Murshidābād during his absence. Fifteen hundred men from

Purnia joined him on the way. In the meantime the Peshwa Balaji Rao had been appealed to for aid and was reported to be approaching Patna from the west. [*Siyar*, ii. 164-165.]

On February 29, Alivardi issued from his camp at Amāniganj and marched to Bihār. At Bhāgalpur, the Marāthas under Mir Habib, who had hastened behind him from Bengal, issued from the shorter and unfrequented jungle path that they had taken, and on the *nala* of Champānagar attacked the rear of the Nawāb's army, but were put to flight. They then hastened westwards in advance of the Nawab and joined the Afghāns at some distance east of Patna, as also did the party of Jānoji. At Mungir the Nawāb halted for some days to give rest to his wearied troops, and then pushed on to Bārh on the Ganges, 34 miles east of Patna (c. 14 April.)

The Afghāns at Patna after inviting Mir Habib, Mohan Singh and some other Marātha officers to an interview, confined them demanding 30 to 40 *lakhs* of Rupees as their pay, on the ground that they had been led into this rebellion at the instigation of the Marāthas, who had promised to pay their expenses. The generals were released only after Mir Habib had given bankers' security for two *lakhs* of Rupees. Then the allies advanced towards Bārh to oppose Alivardi.* The Afghān army was about 35,000 strong; the Marāthas were reported as 30,000, but 12,000 is a more probable number. All the artillery of Patna fort accompanied the rebels; the Nawāb's army is estimated in *Siyar*, (ii. 164) at 15,000 horse and 8,000 *barqāndāzes* (foot musketeers.)

## § 10. *Battle of Rānisarāi or Kāladiāra*

Alivardi had conducted his march keeping the Ganges close on his right hand, so as to have that flank naturally protected and also to assure his water and food supply. Immediately west of the city of Bārh, the Ganges divides itself into several branches, which enclose between them a vast island or group of islands,

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* Shamshir Khan left his *diwan* Ahmad Khan Qureshi (misspelt in the Bengal Consultation as *Hamed Khan Carachea*) with 2,500 men behind him in charge of Patna. (*Beng. Consult.* 8 March and 26 April, 1748.) This Ahmad was the grandson of Daud Khan Qureshi, the founder of Daudnagar. (*Siyar*, ii. 129.)

now called the "Ramnagar dhāra" The main volume of the river water flows through the northernmost channel, while nearly two miles south of it lies the old or deserted bed of the Ganges forming a very thin shallow stream in the dry weather The Mughal military road from Sakrigali (the eastern frontier post of Bihār) to Patna runs close to the south bank of the Ganges and is intersected by many smaller streams, which after running northwards drain themselves into that great river

This old bed of the Ganges has to be crossed a short distance to the west of Bārh town The ford over it was strongly entrenched and defended by the Afghān army with their big guns placed carefully in position and trained beforehand on the road by which their enemy would have to advance But Alivardi Khān, "who in generalship had no equal in that age except Asaf Jāh the Nizām" (*Siyar*, ii 166), at the first view realised the strength of the Afghān position and took no wild chance After leaving Bārh, instead of risking a frontal attack on such a strong and prepared position across a river, he turned it by making a detour to the left, *i e*, southwards and away from the Ganges and the public highway, under the guidance of a local zamindār, crossed the same stream two miles further west at a ford unknown to the Afghāns, regained the Patna road and threatened to cut the enemy's communication with that town. This unexpected manoeuvre, which the Afghāns could ascribe to nothing but magic, forced them to make a hurried change of front deserting all their guns *in situ* and running westwards to a place opposite the Nawāb's new position. Thus they lost the use of nearly all their artillery,—which fact had a decisive influence on the next day's battle. That night the two armies lay facing each other. The Nawāb spent it in strict vigil and precaution against surprise Early on the following morning he cast himself down on the ground in abasement before his Maker, rubbed his forehead with the hallowed earth of the grave of Imām Husain at Karbalā, and with tears in his eyes prayed to God to give him either victory or death in the coming battle

It was the 16th of April 1748 Alivardi advanced to the village of Rānisarāi,* eight miles west of Bārh, and marshalled

* *Siyar*, ii 167 *Bengal Consult*, 26 April, records a letter from Qasimbazar dated the 23rd, reporting the news that "the Nawab had killed

his ranks on the plain. His big artillery (*top-i-jinsi*) was posted in front, the lighter pieces (*top-i-dasti*) behind these and then came the horse and foot of the vanguard in support. As usual, the Nawab took his post in the centre.

The Afghāns had also drawn up their troops in the customary fashion of that age. They had, however, taken advantage of the ground by adopting a novel device. Their army formed a long line of two miles or more from Rāni-sarāi eastwards to Kala-dārā, but their left wing under Hayāt Khān, with some large guns, was pushed across a small stream that here runs into the Ganges, and ordered to fire on the Nawāb's right wing when it would come up opposite. The Marāthas could be seen on the left hand some distance behind, waiting to plunder whichever side should lose the day.

Ignoring the Maratha light horse as beneath his notice and pointing to the Afghans as "There are my enemies," the Nawāb advanced upon their massed ranks. The battle began with a discharge of guns. In this Alivardi had a decided superiority, as the Afghāns had abandoned most of their heavy pieces at the ford four miles eastwards the day before. At the first cannonade Sardār Khān's head was blown away. He commanded nearly half the rebel force and his death on the back of his elephant, visible from far and near, shook the men of his division. Alivardi's youthful captains were eager to charge the enemy at once, but the cool-headed veteran pulled them up short, letting his musketeers do their work first. His *barqāndāzes* fired volley after volley into the enemy ranks crowded on the sand bank, "darkening the bright day with smoke." Seeing the enemy now really hard pressed, the Nawāb ordered two officers to make a charge, but the order met with no immediate response. During this confusion the Marāthas and Mir Habib's Afghans (the former retainers of Mustafa) made an attack on the Nawāb's baggage in the rear, and driving a crowd of servants before them approached the centre. But the Nawāb, never giving these enemies a thought,

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Shamshir Khan and Murad Sher Khan in battle at *Cullodee*." Rennell gives *Colla derrah* (Kaladāra) six miles s. w. of Barh and four miles e. of Ranny Chock. Babu Ram Lal Sinha, B.L. tells me that the village Kāla-dārā still stands on the south bank of the Ganges north-east of the Khusrupur Rl. Stn.

ordered his vanguard to charge the main Afghān army in front and advanced on his elephant with his guards in support of the vanguard, his band playing the music of victory. His generals vied with one another in driving their elephants into the enemy's ranks. The engagement now became close and general all along the line. Murād Sher Khān fell back into his *hawdā* wounded by a musket-ball; two Nawābi officers jumped on his elephant and cut off his head. In another part of the field, during the confusion of the fight, Shamshir Khān fell down from his elephant and was beheaded on the ground. The Afghān army now helplessly broke and fled; the Marāthas also quickly disappeared from a field where they had contributed nothing to the fight and found no chance of securing booty. The Nawāb's victory was complete. He occupied the enemy's deserted camp, and then marched to Baikunthpur, 12 miles west of the battlefield, where he halted for a few days, and finally entered Patna in triumph. A great cloud of terror was lifted up from the hearts of the people of Patna, high and low alike, and life returned to their bodies, as it were. [*Siyar* ii 165—168; *Yusuf* 120—130; *Karam* 34*b*—36*b*.]

## § 11. *Alivardi halts at Patna for six months, 1748; condition of Bengal.*

He consoled his widowed daughter and other relatives, restored the administration of the province and in a most generous spirit of chivalry sent away with every care and honour the widow and daughter of Shamshir Khān, who had been captured, to their homes, even giving them some villages for their livelihood, as he did not make war upon women. One day before this battle the Emperor Muhammad Shāh had died at Delhi. Alivardi passed the next six months in Patna trying to make some satisfactory arrangement for the Bihār governorship and watching the course of events at the imperial Court, the policy of the new Emperor and his ministers towards the *subahdar* of Bengal, Bihār and Orissā, and the movements of Ahmad Abdāli, who was expected to make an incursion into India during this change of rulers at Delhi. After appointing Sirājud-daulah as absentee *nāib nāzim* of Bihār, with Rājah Jānakirām as his deputy and acting ruler,

the Nawāb left Patna about 6th November and arrived at Murshidabad on the last day of the month [*Siyar* ii 171, French factors letter of 10 September 1748 (N S), Bengal letter 22 December, 1748]

During the Pathān usurpation of Bihār the news spread over the land that dismemberment had begun in the Nawāb's dominions and there was none to enforce order Lawless men raised their heads everywhere without fear of check or punishment On 15th February the Qāsimbāzār factory of the English despatched a fleet of boats laden with the Company's goods (mostly raw silk) to the value of Rs 3,95,031 and private treasure and merchandise worth Rs 35,000 to proceed to Calcutta in charge of Ensign English and a small party of soldiers His way lay by Katwā which was then the chief station of the Marāthas and where Jānoji was present in person The Marāthas plundered the goods and treasure in the fleet without any opposition from the escort (17th February) At the approach of a detachment of the Nawāb's troops under Fath Ali the Marāthas left Katwā, carrying everything away from thence For some time after, their main body remained near Bardwān, while several straggling parties of them were scattered about the country (*Bengal Consult*, 25th Feb, 8th March, 1748). Soon afterwards the entire Marātha force in Bengal hastened to Bihār to join Shamshir Khān

After the crushing defeat of his Afghān allies at Rāni-sarāi (16th April), Jānoji with Mir Habib and all their troops slipped past the Nawāb and turned towards Murshidabād But on the way he heard of the death of his mother, and himself with a few men took the road to Nāgpur, sending Mir Habib with the bulk of the troops towards Medinipur After Janoji's arrival at home Raghuji sent his younger son Sābāji* with a Marātha force to strengthen Mir Habib

For a year after the victory of Rāni-sarāi, Bengal and Bihār enjoyed a respite from the *Bargi* visitation; but Orissā from Medinipur southwards remained in the undisputed possession of the Marāthas.

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* *Siyar*, ii 175, wrongly calls him *Mānāji* But Raghuji had no son named Mānāji *S P D* xx 55 mentions Sābāji Bhonslé as returned from Bengal to Nagpur in 1749 Janoji's exped in Yusuf 100—104

## § 12. *Alivardi recovers Katak*

About the middle of March, 1749 Alivardi went to Katwā and there began to assemble an army for the recovery of Orissā. Some months before this he had detached a column eight thousand strong, to Bardwan to block the usual road of the Marāthas from the south. When the Nawāb himself reached Bardwān, the men of his portable artillery (*topkhānah-i-dasti*) mutinied for their arrears of pay and created a tumult. The Nawāb in anger dismissed them all and set out against the enemy without any artillery whatever. A few of his officers also ran away at this time to avoid the hardship and dangers of campaigning in that barren country in the hot weather. But nothing daunted, Alivardi, now an old man of 73, advanced towards the enemy in Medinipur. At the news of his approach Mir Habib set fire to his encampment and fled southwards. The Nawāb, without entering the town of Medinipur, skirted it crossed the Kānsāi river, and halted on the further side. Then getting intelligence of the enemy being present in the jungles of Medinipur, he sent a detachment which made a night attack and routed them.

Alivardi continued the pursuit. Advancing to Balesar he learnt that Sābāji and Mir Habib, finding their soldiers powerless to stand up to a fight with the Nawāb's forces had fled far away through the jungles of Katak. Alivardi pushed on towards Katak, crossed the two branches of the Baitarani river at Bhadrak and Jājpur, and took post at Barā about 36 miles north of Katāk. Here he received letters from Sayyid Nur, Sarāndāz Khān and Dharmadas (the Captain of the musketeers), who had gone over to the Marāthas and had been left by them in charge of the fort of Barābāti and the district round Katak town, offering to submit to Alivardi whenever he would arrive there.

But the Nawāb was too old a general to act in heedless haste. He first searched the dense jungle for Mir Habib for some time, but no trace of the Marāthas having been found, he issued from the jungle, left a force to watch the pass leading out of it, and with 2,000 men made a forced march from Barā to Katak, riding all that night and half of the next day, suffering terribly from the heat of the May day sun along a treeless road. At the end of eighteen hours of continuous exertion, with his escort reduced

to three hundred worn-out horsemen, the Nawab arrived before Barabati at noon (c. 17th May 1740). No baggage or tent had been able to keep up with him. The garrison agreed to capitulate the next day. Next morning, when the officers of the fort came to interview the Nawāb, Sayyid Nur and Dharmadas were made prisoners by previous order of Alivardi, while Sarāndāz Khān who resisted arrest was cut down. The garrison shut the gates and showed fight, and so the Nawāb had to invest the fort. He entered the city of Katak (c. 18 May), and fifteen days later received the surrender of Barābati.

Thus the reconquest of Orissā was complete. But to the ruler of Bengal Katak was easier to conquer than to hold, with the Marathas permanently in occupation of its southern and western flanks, innumerable tracks through the jungles leading out of these places, and a single long and difficult route connecting Katak with Bengal which was closed by floods during half the year. Noble after noble declined the governorship of Orissā offered to them by the Nawāb, as they knew that with the small provincial contingent they would not be able to hold out against the Marāthas for a week after the Nawāb had set out on his return to Bengal with his army. At last a thoughtless beggar named Shaikh Abdus Subhān, who was serving in Durlabhrām's squadron, jumped at the prospect of becoming a Deputy Nawāb, and was appointed governor of the province. Alivardi quickly left Katak and hastened towards Bengal, in order to avoid the coming rainy season which would render the innumerable streams across his path impassable. [*Siyar* ii. 175—177. *Yusuf* 137—151. *Karam* 24*a*—25*b*.]

## § 13. *Katak reconquered by Marathas, June 1740.*

But the result was what everybody had foreseen. Six or seven days after Alivardi had marched out of Katak, Mir Habib reappeared before that town, defeated and captured the seven days' *nāib-nāzim* who, however, fought most gallantly against ten-fold odds and was severely wounded,—and so the Marāthas recovered the capital of Orissā. Thus, Alivardi's work was undone within a week. But the draggled and famished Bengal army which reached Balesar on 6th June, was in no condition or mood to face

a new campaign and repeat this labour of Sisyphus. The Nawāb's health was breaking down under his recent exertions. So he set his face homewards, and reached Murshidabād at the beginning of July. [*Siyar* ii 178, *Beng. Consult.* 24, 27 and 29 May, 17 June, 1749.]

### § 14. *Alivardi at Medinipur*

Alivardi's reconquest of Orissā in the summer of 1749, coming so soon after his recovery of Bihār in April 1748, was a splendid achievement, but it was destined to be his last. The forced march that ensured the fall of Katak without a blow, the blistering sun that had to be endured overhead for weeks together, the muddy roads and rain-swollen streams that had to be crossed, and the scanty and coarse food that a poor jungly province solely yielded, all told upon the body of an old man of 73 who had scorned delights and lived laborious days throughout a long life, and had almost every year since his accession had to meet and defeat some enemy at home or abroad, from the bosom of his family and the circle of his lieutenants as much as from across the frontier. Soon after his return from Orissā, the Nawāb had a serious illness which continued well into October 1749. [*Bengal Consult.* 18 Oct. 1749.]

But there was no rest for Alivardi. On recovering from this illness, he disported himself for a few days, with deer hunt at Mihirpur (24 miles due east of Palāshi), and then marched to Katwā. After assembling his army here, he advanced *via* Bardwān to Medinipur (December, 1749). Meantime, Mir Habib had come to Balesar about 15th October with Mohan Singh and the Marātha force, while the Pathāns (under Mustafa Khān's son Murtazā) who formed his rearguard, arrived two days later, making a total of 40,000 men. [*Bengal Consult.* 26 Oct. 1749; *Siyar*, ii. 179.]

This year Alivardi decided to form a permanent cantonment at Medinipur, so as to keep the path of Marātha raids into Bengal from Orissa always closed. In the camp at Medinipur the Nawāb tried to check abuses in his army, with the consequence of alienating his troops. There was gross peculation through collusion between the captains and the pay-clerks. A muster

was held when it was found that in general only one-fourth of the troops paid for by Government were actually kept in service. In one officer's command the robbery of public money was so outrageous that out of the 1,700 men for whom he had been drawing pay regularly year after year, only eighty were really present and all the rest were "dead musters." When the Nawāb cut down the allowances of the officers to the actual strength of their contingents they became highly discontented, and the reform had to be stopped. (*Siyar*, ii. 180.)

While this internal trouble was raging in the Medinipur cantonment, towards the end of February 1750 a body of several thousand Marāthas slipped past him and plundered the country as far as Rājmahal, whence they turned towards Murshidabad. Alivardi quickly fell back from Medinipur to Bardwān, but on hearing of his march the raiders turned aside and took refuge in the jungles of West Bengal. The Nawāb halted at Bardwān, in diwan Manickchand's garden outside the city, for some time and then returned to Medinipur (April 1750). Permanent quarters for the officers and men and mansions for the Nawāb were now built here and the ladies of the harem were summoned from Murshidābād, as no officer would undertake the perilous post of *faujdār* of Medinipur and the Nawāb was therefore compelled to stay there in person.

### § 15. *Sirājuddaulah assaults Patna city, June, 1750.*

But a fresh trouble was brewing for Alivardi. His darling grandson and intended heir, Sirājuddaulah, was instigated by Sayyid Mahdi Nisār Khān (the paternal uncle of the historian Ghulām Husain and a discontented ex-officer of the Nawāb's army), to make a dash on Patna, seize the government of the province from the Nawāb's agent, and make himself independent. The foolish and capricious lad, took leave from the camp at Medinipur, on the pretext of visiting the palaces and gardens at Murshidābād, and slipped out of that town with his wife. Arrived at Patna, he with Mahdi Nisār Khān delivered an attack on the city. The defenders hesitated to fire on their future master and the apple of the eye of their present sovereign. Some of the assailants got inside through an old drain for rainwater near the western gate called the *khirki* of Begampurā, threw the gate open

and admitted Sirājuddaulah In the fighting in the narrow streets of Hajiganj the loyal troops were steadily driven back and Sirāj's followers seemed to be on the point of capturing the entire city, when first Amānat Khān, then Mirzā Madāri Beg Deccani, and finally Mahdi Nisār were killed At this fall of their leaders the rebels lost heart and fled out of the city Sirāj took refuge in a private house safe and sound, to the intense relief of Rajah Jānakirām and the garrison of the city, (c 27 June, 1750) [*Siyar*, ii 182 185 *Yusuf* 166 *Karam* 38 *a*]

Meantime immediately on hearing of Sirāj's flight from Murshidābād towards Patna, Alivardi had started from Medinipur after him, though the rainy season had begun and the roads were becoming impassable Halting only one day at Murshidābād, he hastened to Bihār and when arrived at Ghiyāspur (midway between Bārh and Fatuā) heard of the attack on Patna and Sirāj's defeat With infinite tenderness he soothed the mind of the young rebel and restored him to all his favour, and then set off with him back to Murshidābād At Patna the old Nawāb was seized with a high burning fever, but he could not stop there, in view of the threat of the Marāthas to Medinipur and the incompetence and cowardice of the agents left by the Nawāb there So, the sick Alivardi glided down the Ganges in a boat, attended by physicians, and after reaching Murshidābād and undergoing further treatment recovered (in September)

All this time despair and consternation had been raging in the camp at Medinipur The Nawāb's illness was believed to be fatal in view of his extreme old age In fact, Mir Jafar and Rājah Durlabhrām who had been left by the Nawāb in command at Medinipur, were utterly incompetent and thoroughly shaken in spirit by their previous unfortunate encounters with the Marāthas The situation at Medinipur became so critical, that the Nawāb had to set out for that place soon after his recovery from the fever, though he was still weak and far from having regained his normal health (December 1750) Here he fought Mir Habib and drove him into the western jungles The Nawāb then returned to Katwā (February 1751), putting off the recovery of Orissā to the next winter [*Siyar*, ii 187]

### § 10. *Peace treaty with Marathas, 1751*

Both sides were now eager for peace. Mir Habib and the Marathas realised that it was useless to continue such a harassing war which brought them no ultimate gain. Raghuji was more involved in debt than ever before; as a financial speculation his invasion of the eastern provinces had failed. His income from the conquest of a poor province like Orissa had not covered his expenses. When in 1749 his son Sābāji beat a hurried retreat from that province to Nagpur, his soldiers pressed Raghuji hard for their heavy arrears of salary, and the Rājah had not the means of satisfying them or any other creditor. A friendly arrangement with the Nawāb would give the Marāthas an assured income without the expense of collecting it fitfully and by force.

Alivardi Khan was now 75 years old and felt the weight of age and the approach of death. His troops were thoroughly worn out by their incessant campaigns and forced marches against domestic and foreign enemies, his subjects in Western and Southern Bengal had been utterly impoverished by the yearly raid and destruction of the Bargis. His Government was wellnigh bankrupt, and both he and his subjects required years of peace to recuperate. So he listened to his well-wishers and permitted Mir Jafar to act as an intermediary and open peace negotiations with the Marāthas (March 1751.) Mir Jafar sent two of his men to Habib, who welcomed the proposal and despatched his own agent Mirza Sālih with the Bengal envoys to Mir Jafar, who introduced him to the Nawāb, then at Katwā. The party proceeded in the Nawāb's train to Murshidābād where the terms were settled. The draft treaty was referred to the Court of Nāgpur and finally in May or June 1751 a peace was signed on the following conditions.

(1) Mir Habib would now become a servant of Alivardi and act as *nāib-nāzim* (deputy governor) of Orissā on his behalf. He should pay the surplus revenue of the province to Raghuji's army as their salary.

(2) From the Bengal revenue twelve *lakhs* of Rupees a year would be paid to Raghuji as *chauth* for that province.

(3) The Marātha Government agreed not to set foot in Alivardi's dominions again. The frontier of Bengal was fixed

at and including the river Suvarnarekha* near Jalesar, and the Marathas bound themselves never to cross it again. Thus the district of Medinipur was once more joined to Bengal. [*Siyar*, ii. 188; Yusuf 180.]

### § 17. *Murder of Mir Habib, 1752.*

Now at last Mir Habib, after many years of ceaseless toil, bloodshed, plunder and devastation of these provinces, attained to his life's ambition: he became the master of a province. But he did not long enjoy his new power and dignity. In his speedy and tragic downfall the author of *Siyar-ul-mutākhkhirin* sees the hand of divine justice. As he writes, "When poor Mir Habib, after so much exertion was on the point of eating the fruit of the tree of his oppression, he was seized with retribution for his cruelty to the innocent multitudes who had been ruined in the raids of his troops and the Marāthas, and he passed away in irretrievable disappointment and loss." (ii. 190.) A year after the conclusion of the peace, Jānoji arrived at Katak as his father's representative and took charge of the Marātha army. The Marātha Brāhmans were chafing under Mir Habib's rule, and refused to take their orders from him any longer as he was now Alivardi's officer and not Raghuji's. Habib as a good administrator could not have allowed the extortion and peculation dear to the hearts of Marātha officers in a newly conquered province, and his honesty and care for the people made him hateful to these blood-suckers. They pressed Jānoji to call upon Habib to render an account of the income and expenditure of the province and of the division of the *chauth* of Bengal between the Marātha and Afghān soldiers, during his fourteen or fifteen months of stewardship. Jānoji agreed, as he could not brook a rival to his authority in the person of Alivardi's agent. So, a plot was formed to get rid of Habib. Jānoji invited Mir Habib and his chief followers, to the number of 40 or 50, to his tent, conversed with them pleasantly for the rest of the day, and about sunset took leave to go out and perform his evening *pujā*. Immediately afterwards, the Marātha soldiers crowded into the tent, encircled Mir Habib and told him that he would not be

* Misprinted as *Sona-makia* in *Siyar*, ii. 188.

allowed to leave the tent before he rendered accounts and gave bonds for the money that he had misappropriated. Habib argued with them for some time and then at last realised that the whole thing was a plot for killing him. So, about midnight he and his followers drew their swords and tried to cut their way through the Marāthas, but were all killed.* (24 Aug. 1752.)

### § 18. *How Orissa became a Maratha province.*

Mir Habib was succeeded by Musālih-ud-din Muhammad Khān, a courtier of Raghuji, as *naib nāzim* of Orissā. But though legally a representative of Alivardi Khān, he acted in all matters as a servant of the Marātha Rājah, and had no real control over the administration such as Habib had exercised. (*Siyar*, ii. 190.) Thus, in a few years Orissā passed entirely out of the hands of the *subahdār* of Bengal and Bihār, and became a Maratha province. This was the one permanent result of the Bargi invasions. Another was that the Marāthas showed the way for the organised looting of Bengal and Bihār to the up-country robber bands calling themselves *sannyāsis* and *faqirs*, whom it required the genius of a Warren Hastings to suppress.

It is a mistake to say that Alivardi ceded Orissā to the Marāthas. The terms of the treaty of 1751 clearly show that the province was divided into two parts; of the northern and more civilised corner, which included the important cities of Medinipur and Jalesar, he retained full possession and government; the southern and more sparsely populated portion, including the great trade centre of Balessar, the capital Katak, and the holy city of Puri, was to be governed by his own officers, but its revenue was assigned to the Marāthas, or in other words it became one vast *jāgir* for them without any change in its territorial sovereignty. This was the theory; but in practice, the weakness of Alivardi's successors, the revolutions at the Court

* We get this exact date (4 Sept., New style) in a French factory letter, Chandarnagar to Masulipatam, dated 11 Oct. 1752 (N. S.) *Correspondance du Conseil de Chandernagor avec divers*, ii. 435. *Siyar* ii. 189-190.

Therefore, *Siyar* ii. 188 is wrong in saying that the treaty was signed at the beginning of 1165 A. H. (which commenced on 9th Nov. 1751), because on the next page it is stated that Habib was murdered one year and a few months after the conclusion of this peace. Karam 38*b*.

of Murshidabad, and the confusion attending the transfer of real power from the titular Nawāb to the English Company, all enabled the Marāthas to turn their fiscal right over Orissā into full political sovereignty and to annex it to their kingdom of Berār

First after the death of Mir Habib (1752), the new deputy of Alivardi in the province was selected from among the officers of the Court of Nāgpur This man, Musālih-ud-din Muhammad Khan by his previous associations and weakness of position, yielded to the Marāthas in all matters, so that the latter had their way in everything even under the nominal suzerainty of Alivardi over the province The change that took place in the political status of Orissā is thus clearly set forth by the Select Committee of Calcutta on 11 December 1761

"It is about twelve years since the Nawāb of Bengal gave the Marāthas an assignment upon the Katak province for receiving an annual stipulated sum on account of the *chauth* The Marāthas, under pretence of collecting their share, usurped by degrees the entire possession of the province, and not contented with that, still continued to harass the neighbouring parts of Bengal, and more particularly the provinces (*i e* districts) of Medinipur and Bardwan, which now belong to the Company" (Long, *Selections*, i No. 572 ) The Nawābs of Bengal, for ten years after the treaty, continued to appoint *faujdārs* at Balesar, though these officers were frequently harassed by the Marāthas

## § 19 *Later friction between the Nawab and Marathas.*

Thus, one source of friction remained open Another was that the Marāthas could never forget that the entire *subah* of Orissā as defined in the geography of the Mughal Empire had not been ceded to them, but its northernmost district Medinipur was retained by the Nawāb, and that district was a very convenient half way house for raids into Bengal and Bihār It, therefore, became the ambition of the Marāthas, especially after the battle of Plassey had publicly demonstrated the weakness of the Nawāb's Government, to try to seize Medinipur as their legitimate due. This brought them into conflict with the English, who had now become guardians of the Nawāb's territory

A third cause of disagreement was the *chauth* of Bengal, twelve *lakhs* of Rupees a year This was paid annually to the Marathas by the Nawāb's Government up to 1758 The English, having now taken charge of the defence of Bengal, withheld the *chauth* and opened negotiations with the Court of Nāgpur for a guarantee that if the money was paid no part of the Nawāb's dominion would be troubled by a Marātha force As that Court could give no really effective assurance, the *chauth* was not paid for some years after. This led to angry diplomatic protests and threats of invasion on the part of the Marāthas, and even a few incursions into the Medinipur and Bardwān districts during the interregnum between the downfall of the Nawāb's independence and the open assumption of the Government of Bengal and Bihar by the English

Alivardi had made the treaty of 1751 with the Marāthas in the hope of giving peace and security to his subjects, but it did not immediately put an end to their misery In the very year that the treaty was signed, the rice crop of Bengal totally perished in consequence of the failure of rain, and a terrible famine desolated the country True, all large scale invasions of Bengal and Bihār ceased but Orissā remained the prey of roving bands of Marāthas, under no control of their king Thus in January 1753 we find the weavers at Balesar complaining of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastations of the Marāthas, who, six hundred in number, after plundering Balesar had gone to the Nilgiri hills (Long, *Selections* i No 110, *Bengal Consult* 1 Feb 1753 )

Interference from the Peshwā's side in the Marātha claims on Bengal aggravated Raghuji Bhonsle's difficulties towards the end of his life On 21 January 1754 (?) he writes to Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāo "Raghunath Rao has sent his envoy from Hastinapur to Bengal, with a letter for Nawāb Alivardi Khan, asking him to send the *chauth* of Bengal for (the last) three years to him Hence, he is quarrelling in my jurisdiction You yourself settled the peace regarding Bengal, and yet his *wakil* has gone and disturbed my administration Please write to forbid him and also tell Alivardi to act in the terms of the treaty signed" [*S P D* xx 77] Raghuji died on 14 Feb 1755 and Jānoji succeeded him.

When the *chauth* began to fall into arrears from 1759, the Bardwān and Nadia districts were again overrun by the Marāthas, and revenue collection by the English officers and the Bardwān Rājah's agents alike was stopped

Sheo Bhat Sathe, the Marātha governor of Orissā, was a man of restless enterprise and daring ambition In December 1760, he burst into Bengal and made a dash towards Mungir, passing through the Bardwān and Birbhum districts, the Rājahs of which were suspected of having joined him This flying column could not go further nor stay there long in fear of the English Falling back on Medinipur, Sheo Bhat invested Mr John Johnstone, the English collector of the place, on 22nd January 1761 Johnstone and his sepoys were hard pressed, but the Calcutta Council sent a relieving force with two guns, which promptly arrived on the scene (c 7th February) and the Marāthas immediately decamped, without fighting, towards Katak Foiled in the field, Sheo Bhat from Katak continued to write letters to Calcutta claiming the *chauth* of Medinipur, which he declared to be a part of the province of Orissā, and urging the withdrawal of the British troops from that town In April and again in May, the Katak governor threatened invasion if the *chauth* of Bengal was not forwarded to him at once * But the Bengal Government was now negotiating with the Court of Nāgpur, and a Marātha envoy Govind Rao Chitnavis arrived at Calcutta early in July to settle the question of *chauth* Jānoji was distressed by not receiving the twelve *lakhs* annually from Bengal, and he wrote strongly urging immediate payment [*Calendar P C*]

§ 20 *The English negotiate with Bhonslé for acquiring Orissa.*

But at this time the friction between the English Company and Nawāb Mir Qāsim began to assume a serious form, and it culminated in war in June 1763. The English, therefore, found it necessary to secure the neutrality of Jānoji by all means The Calcutta Council wrote to him "asking him to consider them as

* In a letter to the Company, received in Calcutta on 5th Oct 1764, Bhavani Pandit, the *diwan* of Orissa, speaks of having received a letter from Janoji stating, "In the time of the former Nawab, the negotiations concerning the *chauth* were never brought to an issue without the approach of an army." (Long, *Selec*, No 724)

security for the *chauth* of Bengal and not to assist Mir Qāsim or to distress Mir Jafar. On account of these letters Jānoji refused the bills and money sent by Mir Qāsim, nor did he grant him an asylum in the *subah* of Katak which the ex-Nawāb desired." Evidently some *chauth* was paid at this time, and then withheld, for Jānoji in his letter (received at Calcutta on 17th Feb. 1767) complains that "more than two years have passed without any money being sent to me." This refusal of the English to make a definite settlement of the *chauth* of Bengal and their trick in spinning out for eight years their negotiations for a treaty of friendship with him (as he complained to his envoy Gopālpuri Gosāin, whose report was received at Calcutta on 16th Oct. 1767, *Calend.* ii. 1154), exasperated Jānoji. But he was weakened by internal dissensions in the Maratha State and too afraid of the all-conquering English army to risk a war in assertion of his treaty rights. In March 1768 Ganesh Shambhāji, "a man of great knowledge, perfectly polite in his manners" and amicable to the English, came as *subahdār* of Orissā. The new Chief of Katak, as in duty bound, began to demand the *chauth* from the English as a treaty obligation. But his efforts met with no more success than those of his rougher predecessor. This needs explanation. [*Calendar P. C.* ii. 77, 892, 102]

Not only had Orissā been an *annexe* to the *subah* of Bengal almost ever since its incorporation in the Mughal Empire under Akbar, but geography and the needs of territorial defence had decreed the union of the two. This need became all the stronger when the English secured possession of Bengal and the Madras Coast (the Northern Circars), with a foreign territory like Orissā severing the natural connection between the two. The military and political danger of this situation was apparent to the English from the very outset.

Lord Clive during his second governorship opened negotiations with Jānoji for the cession of Orissā to the Company, on condition that the Company paid half the three years' arrears of *chauth* down and the other half as soon as the Marāthas would vacate the province, the English at the same time guaranteeing the regular payment of *chauth* (12 *lakhs*) in future. But Clive's offer to Jānoji was not accepted, and the scheme was dropped.

though the English continued to cultivate the friendship of the house of Nagpur, especially under Warren Hastings.

Lord Cornwallis was so impressed by the value of Orissā to the Company "in its rendering the communication complete between Bengal and our dominions in the Karnātak" that he authorised C. W. Malet, the British envoy at the Marātha Court, to try to obtain this province in exchange for some other British territory with a money compensation for the difference in value between the two. To induce the Marāthas to give up the holy city of Jagannāth, he authorised Malet to agree to "grant particular privileges or even exemption from all Government duties to Marātha subjects on pilgrimage to Benāres, Gayā, and Allahabad, and to Jagannāth when surrendered to us." He even offered to furnish Malet "with the means of making very liberal presents in money, to any of the (Marātha) ministers who should give a decisive assistance in forwarding the accomplishment of the object in question." Ultimately Lord Cornwallis realised that it was "absolutely impossible ever to obtain Katak directly from the Bhonsle family by any other means than by force," and his negotiations, like Clive's before him, fell through.* That force it was left to Wellesley to apply.

## § 21. *Harm done by Maratha raids.*

The treaty made by Alivardi with the Marāthas and his payment of *chauth* for Bengal, though it did not bring perfect or immediate peace to Bengal and Bihār, achieved one happy result. It changed the character of the Bargi raids. These were no longer organised invasions decreed by their State, supported by all its resources, and led by its recognised chiefs. Henceforth they were mere predatory incursions by bands of unruly soldiers or some local officer eager for gain on their private account, whose act the Marātha Government disavowed but was not strong enough to prevent or punish. And not only were these raids in future fewer, but their range also was limited to the south-western fringe area of Bengal, namely the country west of Medinipur and south of Bardwān, which as late as 1775 was still marked "Impenetrable" in Rennell's survey map. Considerable

* Ross, *Cornwallis Corres.*, 2nd ed., i. 366, 411, 453.

harm, however, could be done even by such bands of Marātha soldiers gone out of control and acting as marauders Warren Hastings makes this clear [Lond ed ii 259.]

In proportion as the strength of the house of Nāgpur decayed through internal discord, lack of far-sighted statesmanship, and incapacity in the rulers, the power of the English increased through their successive triumphs in many a distant quarter of India So great was the prestige of British arms and British statesmanship even in provinces untraversed by a single British soldier, that no Indian power except Tipu Sultān would willingly provoke an encounter with them Hence, the most potent cause of the final release of these provinces from the long-drawn agony of Marātha incursions was the recognition of British paramountcy, in fact if not in theory, by the Indian potentates, and the first fruit of that paramountcy, namely *Pax Britannica*, which alone has made the birth of a new India possible.

Translation of Treaty under seal of Alivardi:

"I swear by the Qurān that I have agreed with Chhatrapati Ramraja to pay the *chauth* for the *subahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and enter into a firm alliance with Raghuji. And I agree from the 9th Ziqad in the 4th year of Ahmad Shah [18 Sep 1751] to pay annually the sum of twelve lakhs of rupees on account of the chauth for the *subahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to be remitted in two qists every six months to Benares . as he shall judge proper, on this condition that neither Raghuji, nor his posterity, nor any Marathas shall remain in or enter these *subahs* " Treaty under seal of Raghuji Bhonslé—"On condition of the peace I am to receive 12 lakhs of rupees yearly including everything Neither I, nor any of my posterity, nor other potent *sardārs* in alliance with me, shall remain in these three *subahs* dependent on the Nawab Alivardi Kh, or in any way molest the *zamindārs* Ram Raja who has settled the chauth of the afore-mentioned *subahs* on me, shall not send any other *sardārs* into those quarters" On the accession of Siraj-ud-daulah, Musalih-ud-din in fear of his personal enmity, fled away from Katak to Nagpur and never returned Thus the control of the Nawab over Orissa even in name ceased [*CPC* ii. nos. 1245-'47.]

# CHAPTER V

## The Panjab down to 1748 First Invasion of Ahmad 'Abdali

### § 1 Rise of independent dynasties in the provinces

The dismemberment of the Mughal Empire was immediately preceded in each of its lost provinces by the exceptionally long rule of some exceptionally capable viceroy, who completed his work by founding a dynasty and transmitting his power to his own family though securing outward legal sanction to this hereditary succession by means of gifts to the shadowy Emperor at Delhi These men formed a striking contrast to the early short term *subahdārs* who were never permitted to govern a province for more than four years in the times when the Pādishāh was a real power in the land

In Bengal it was Murshid Quli Khān, (surnamed Jafar Khān Nasiri, Nasir Jang, Mutaman-ul-mulk), who ruled the province without a break from 1710 to his death in 1727 and left a throne to his son-in-law Shujā Khān In the Deccan it was Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh, first appointed to the viceroyatty in 1713 then removed, and finally reinstated in 1725 to hold that realm till his death in 1748 and to bequeathe it to his progeny In Oudh it was Sādat Khan, appointed in 1723 and succeeded on his death (1739) by his son-in-law Safdar Jang and his line. In the Panjāb it was Saif-ud-daulah I Dilir Jang, who got the *subahdār*ship in 1713 and was succeeded in 1726 by his son Zakariyā Khan (entitled Saifuddaulah II), and the latter dying in 1745 left his provinces, Lāhor and Multān, to his sons Yahiyā Khān (surnamed Zakariyā Khān II and Azd-ud-daulah II) and Hayātullah Khān (surnamed Shāh-nawāz Khān and Hizbar Jang) Saifuddaulah I thus founded a dynasty which was extinguished only when his unworthy grandsons quarrelled and failed to save their heritage from Afghān encroachment (1748) The *subahs* of Gujrāt and Mālwa were lost to the dying Empire by foreign annexation, without the intervention of a long rule by any *subahdār*

*§ 2. The good work of founders of dynasties.*

These founder viceroys did immense benefit to the people whose happy lot it was to be governed by them. Being strong and capable men, they successfully enforced law and order and fostered the growth of wealth and population in their charge. They saved their subjects not only from robbers and foreign raiders, but also from the illegal exactions of office underlings,—which the lesser *subahdārs* could not do. Thus, of Murshid Quli Khan we read, "Two days in the week he administered justice in person, and was so impartial in his decisions and rigid in their execution that no one dared to commit oppression. ... The regulations and orders of Murshid Quli Khan were so absolute that the most refractory trembled in his presence and his commands were implicitly obeyed." [Salimullah.]

Such, too, was the case with Asaf Jah. His *diwān* Muhammad Hashim Khāfi Khān reports from personal knowledge: "The former *subahdār* Dāud Khān (Panni) had laid the foundation of the illegal innovation (*bidat*) of exacting *rahdari*, amounting to nearly eighty *lakhs* of Rupees, from the *zamindars* and *ryots* of the parganahs of subahs Khāndesh, Bālāghāt and others, for himself with the assistance and concert of the Marātha troops,—with whom he was as thick as milk and sugar. Afterwards, (on the Nizam's first coming to the Deccan) when the collectors told him about it and asked his permission to levy this cess, he altogether abolished it. Nay more, he used constantly to urge his revenue officers to write to the *āmils* of the *parganahs* and *mahals* of his *jāgir* that they must remember that no *ābwāb* or cess forbidden by the Emperor should be collected even to the extent of a farthing (*dām*). Such was this great man's compassion on the condition of the common people." (ii. 748.)

Long connection with one province also allowed the growth of personal ties between such a viceroy and his subjects and gave him the same interest in their welfare that a hereditary landlord takes in the prosperity of his tenants and which no temporary farmer of the revenue can feel. With the growth of such a family-connection with the province in their charge, these founder-viceroys came to look upon the governed as their own children. Zakariyā Khān I, when pressed by the departing Nādir Shāh to ask for a personal boon, nobly begged for the liberation of

the Indians whom that ruthless conqueror was dragging away with himself to servile labour in far-off Irān. And his house rigorously enforced law and order ever since its coming to power in the Land of the Five Rivers.

## § 3. *Lawless tribes of the Panjab.*

The Panjab had generally speaking enjoyed more internal peace than any other frontier province of India during the 17th century. The visits of the Emperors Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzib and Bahadur Shāh I to Lahor, their marches through this province on expeditions and journeys beyond it, the movements of large armies across the land for the wars in Central Asia, Qandahār and the Khaibar Pass, had all tended to impress the local law-breakers with a wholesome fear of the Emperor's power and respect for the Emperor's peace. The Sikh risings under *guru* Govind Singh in the 17th century and under Banda in 1710 and 1713 disturbed and desolated some well-defined zones only.

After Banda and his personal followers had been crushed in 1714, the Sikhs remained quiescent for over one generation and did not disturb the public peace. But there were other lawless classes in that province, predatory by instinct and tribal usage, who were ever on the look-out for an opportunity to plunder cities and caravans and seize the rents of villages. Such were the Ranghars and the Gujars, the brethren of the hereditary Jāt robbers living further east. In the Panjāb the Jāts supplied the main body of recruits to the Sikh fraternity, but their lawless activity as Sikhs revived only after 1750.

The land of the five rivers has in our day become one vast granary with an assured if artificial water-supply, and the home of a prolific manly but peacefully prosperous population. But in Mughal Panjāb man had not yet harnessed Nature to his service, and only an infinitely smaller population than to-day's could then find a subsistence on its soil. Vast forests over-spread the *doābs* or tracts enclosed by two rivers, where we now see only smiling fields of wheat and cotton, millet and oil-seeds, stretching up to the horizon, broken by rapidly rising cities, the homes of industry and arts. And these jungles afforded safe homes and ready refuges to robber bands. One jungle covered

the country from Karnāl (70 miles north of Delhi) to Ludhiana near the Satlaj as late as 1803. The town of Sarhind was no doubt a centre of population and tillage, but beyond a narrow belt of clearance around it the forest reigned supreme. So, one after crossing the Satlaj into the Jālandar doāb. Further south the state of things was still worse. A Panjābi Hindu, writing in 1695, thus describes the land: "The *sarkār* of Dipālpur (the modern Montagomery district) is the home of the Wattu, Dogar and Gujar tribes, who are notorious for their turbulent and rebellious character. Every year the floods overspread the land far and wide, and when the water subsides so many jungles spring up all over this country owing to the great moisture, that a pedestrain has great difficulty in travelling. How then can a rider? It is called the *Lakhi Jangal* (forest of a hundred thousand trees.) The wicked men of this plain, owing to the shelter afforded by the impassable jungle,—which stretches over leagues in length and breadth,—become ambuscaders, highway men and thieves. The hand of the imperial commanders cannot reach them for chastisement." (*Khulāsat-ut-tawārikh* of Sujān Rāi.)

A strong man was needed to keep such a province in order, and that strong man was found in the person of Abdus Samad Khān.

## § 4. *Law and order enforced by Abdus Samad Khan.*

Abdus Samad Khān, a Turki immigrant from Samarqand (Ahrār) and a near kinsman of Nizām-ul-mulk and Itimād-ud-daula I, was created a 5-*hazāri*, with the title of Dilir Jang and appointed *subahdār* of Lāhor in 1713. His first great achievement was the crushing of the Sikh rising under Banda in 1714, for which he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of a *7-hazāri* and the title of Saif-ud-daulah. Next, in 1718, he destroyed after a severe contest, Isā Khān, a petty landowner of the Ranghar tribe, who had raised himself to almost princely power and dignity by successful highway robbery. This man's grandfather had laid the foundation of power and wealth by collecting and leading a robber-band. Isā Khān himself, on the strength of this heritage, was courted as a man of consequence. Joining Prince Muizz-ud-din before the battle of Jājau, he was enrolled

as a *mansabdār* Then, in the contest fought out between the four brothers at Lāhor in 1712 he was on the winning side and vastly enriched himself by seizing the treasure-laden carts of the other princes His patron,on gaining the throne, made him a 5-*hazāri* and the *faujdār* of Lakhi jungle On the fall of Jahāndār Shāh in 1713, he fought for his own hand, plundered and occupied the neighbouring district, defeating the local faujdārs, robbed the trade caravans between Delhi and Lāhor, and thus amassed a vast hoard of wealth and jewels At the same time he was cunning enough to bribe the Emperor's favourite Samsām-ud-daulah (Khān-i-Daurān) and make him his patron at Court Emboldened by this high protection, "he looted the people worse than before The imperial officers who had been assigned jāgirs in this region, could not get a penny from their villages as the rents were forcibly collected by Isā Khān He dominated the country from the bank of the Biās,—where he had built a fort named Dausā—to the village of Thāra on the bank of the Satlaj, in the Sarhind district, and through fear of him the tiger used to draw its claws back" (*Māsir-ul-umarā*, ii. 825-828, following Khāfi Khān, ii 767-768 )

Abdus Samad Khān, in 1718, sent his subordinate Shāhdād Khān Kheshgi, to root the rebel out The decisive battle took place near the village of Thāra, the seat of Isā Khān, who fought bravely at the head of 3,000 horse, slew many of the imperialists, and even forced Shāhdād to turn his back But just then, Isā Khān's father having been shot dead, he was maddened by rage, and drove his elephant with blind impetuosity on that of Shāhdād, with the result that he was killed and his victory turned into a rout His son took to a peaceful life and was left to enjoy his zamindari Shortly after this campaign, the *subahdār* fought and slew another turbulent rebel, Husain Khān Kheshgi of Qasur

### § 5 *Zakariyā Khān, governor of the Panjāb*

Saifuddaulah I was a patron of the immigrants from Transoxiana and settled many of these Turks in the Panjāb by granting them lands and posts in the provincial army In 1726 he was replaced by his son Zakariyā Khān, created Azd-uddaulah I Hizbar Jang In 1739 the latter's charge was enlarged by the

addition of Multan, and he was, on Nādir Shāh's recommendation promoted to be a 8-hazāri with the title of Saif-uddaulah II. He had married a daughter of the wazir Itimad-ud-daulah I, while his eldest son Yahiya Khān was married to a daughter of that wazir's son Itimad-ud-daulah II. Zakariyā Khān was a very strong and just ruler, vigilant in supervising the administration and protecting the people from oppression,—for which his fame spread throughout the land and he was idolised by his subjects in a degree unequalled in that age. He continued his father's good work of putting down the brigand chiefs who used to disturb the country, such as Panāh Bhātti the terror of the tract from Hasan Abdal to the bank of the Rāvi and Mir Mār, whose hunting ground was the *doāb* between the Rāvi and the Satlaj.

Zakariyā Khān's crowning act of nobleness was done for the relief of humble sufferers who had none else to befriend them and who could not do him any benefit in return. Nādir Shāh greatly loved him and when passing by Lāhor on his withdrawal from India he pressed Zakariyā Khān to ask for a personal favour, but the only boon that he asked of the world-conqueror was the liberation of the artisans and other people of Delhi whom Nādir was dragging away with him to Persia. Nādir agreed, and thousands of Indian homes far away from the Panjāb were rendered happy by this nobleman's unselfish generosity. [*M. U.* ii. 106.]

After promoting the peace and prosperity of the province entrusted to his care, Zakariya Khān died on 1st July 1745. "There was so much grief for him among all people, especially in the city of Lāhor, that for three nights in succession no lamp was lighted in any house. Thousands on thousands followed his coffin through the streets lamenting aloud, beating their breasts, and heaping up flowers on his bier, till at last not a handful of flowers was left in the city." (Anandram, 139.)

With him ended the happiness of the Panjāb. Zakariya Khān I left behind him three sons: Yahiya Khan (surnamed Azd-ud-daulah II), Hayātullah Khān (surnamed Hizbar Jang II and Shāh-nawaz Khān), and Mir Bāqi. Yahiyā was a weak effeminate youth, while Hayātullah, a particular favourite of Nādir Shāh, seems to have derived from his dread patron a bloodthirsty,

oppressive and grasping character. Soon after their father's death the two elder brothers returned from Delhi to Lāhor, when Hayātullah demanded a partition of their patrimony. A settlement was delayed and the armed retainers on the two sides came to blows with each other. At last terms were arranged and Hayātullah on receiving a certain amount in cash and jewels by way of payment, withdrew to his *faujdari* in the Jālandar doāb. [*Ashub*, ii. 452.]

But this did not bring peace to the Panjāb. The Emperor foolishly put off appointing a governor for that province. He rejected the wazir's suggestion of giving Zakariyā Khān's two provinces of Lāhor and Multān to his two sons as likely to create a hereditary Turāni dominion there. Many emigrants from Central Asia had settled in and around Lāhor under the patronage of the last two viceroys and had built there houses, tombs and gardens, so that "the place had become a home of Mughals like Balkh and Bukhārā." At last the wazir tried to save these fellow-tribes-men by begging the *subahdāri* of the province for himself. No more unwise arrangement could have been devised for the most important frontier province of India than an absentee and vicarious governorship. The wazir appointed as his deputy, Mir Mumin Khān, who had been Zakariyā Khan's 'man of business', which was an excellent selection. The wazir himself could not pay a single visit to his province.

"All these circumstances conspired to destroy the peace and prosperity which the just rule of Zakariyā Khān had given to the Panjāb. ... Disorder broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunderers and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out of their holes and began to desolate the realm. ... On one side the Rājah of Jammu rebelled, and on the other the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble." The first deputy governor, Mir Mumin, had not the means of suppressing these disorders. At last, after long persuasion, the Emperor in 1746 agreed to appoint Yahiyā Khān as deputy governor, while the wazir continued as the titular subahdār. (Anandram, 289.)

§ 6. *Civil War between Zakariyā's sons*

Yahiyā retained Mir Mumin as his chief officer, but his own soft character made it impossible for him to govern such a turbulent province. To add to his difficulties, his younger brother Hayātullah came to Lāhor on 21st November 1746, entered his mansion outside the city, and called upon Yahiyā to make a complete division of their father's property. The discussion was prolonged, no settlement was made, and the soldiers of the two brothers often fought in the streets, while each of them stood behind his entrenchments in his own quarter of the city. At last Hayatullah's patience was worn out, his soldiers clamoured for the arrears of their salary which he had no means of satisfying. So, on 17th March, 1747, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon he ordered his lieutenant Adina Beg Khān to reconnoitre his brother's trenches. This move drew Mir Mumin out in force and a light and indecisive skirmish ensued, after which each side retired to its shelter. Next day, Hayātullah in person delivered a sudden assault, the portable artillery which he carried in front quickly scattered his enemies and Mir Mumin was captured wounded. Lāhor could not hold out against the victor, because Yahiyā's fugitive soldiers flocked into the city and mutinied for their pay, which was four or five months overdue. Hayātullah entered Lāhor unopposed (21st March) and seized the property of Yahiyā, who took refuge in the house of his widowed aunt. [Anandrām, 289-292, 304.]

After thus usurping the government of Lāhor, Hayātullah assured his position by removing from their posts all the old captains "who had grown grey-haired in the service of his father and grandfather" and confiscating their houses and property. He then sent his steward to the Emperor with some presents, begging pardon for his acts and requesting that he might be appointed deputy governor of the province under the wazir's seal. The envoy arrived at Delhi with this strange letter on 3rd September and opened negotiations which the Emperor's advisers considered it politic to draw out. [Anandrām, 293-295, 300.]

In the meantime the political horizon of India was overcast and a great danger arose to threaten the throne of Delhi. Nādir Shāh had been murdered on 9th June 1747 and much of his wealth and soldiery had passed into the hands of Ahmad Khān

Abdali, his favourite general. Abdali had crowned himself king on his way from Nadir's camp to Qandahar (about 12th June) and laid claim to the heritage of Nadir. His immediate aim was to equip himself with the necessary funds by squeezing that well-known milch-cow India. And for this a fine opportunity presented itself immediately.

The civil war between Yahyā and Hayātullah rent the government of the Panjāb into two, and made that province too weak to resist a foreign invader. In addition to this, Hayātullah who knew that he had hopelessly broken with his Delhi master by ousting the Emperor's lawful representative and the wazir's son-in-law, looked round for an ally outside India and sent a letter inviting Ahmad Abdāli to come and take the sovereignty of the land. He also embraced the Shia religion, replacing the names of the Timurid Emperors on his official seal by the names of the twelve Imāms. He thus hoped to find allies among the Shia soldiery of Persia. [Ashub, ii. 453, *Bayān* 221.]

### § 7. *Last years and death of Nadir Shah*

After his conquest of Delhi, Nādir Shāh annexed the *subah* of Kābul and all the portions of the Panjāb and Sindh lying west of the Indus river down to the sea, as well as the province of Tatta or lower Sindh and the ports situated in it. In addition he received in perpetual assignment the revenue of the four cis-Indus *mahals* of Sialkot, Gujrāt, Aurangābād, and Pasrur, which had hitherto been reserved for feeding the Mughal administration of the perpetually deficit province of Afghanistan. The Emperor's governor of Lāhor signed an agreement to send Nādir twenty *lakhs* of Rupees every year on account of these four *mahals*. [Anandiram, 80-81. *Siyar*, iii. 30 and ii. 97.]

Thereafter the Court of Delhi enjoyed peace and protection from the side of Persia. Nādir was a great admirer of Timur; he used to carry Timur's autobiography with himself on his campaigns, and he had not the heart to ruin Timur's lineal descendant in India. During the remainder of his life the great Persian conqueror kept up friendly relations with Muhammad Shāh. In the midst of his busy life and arduous campaigns in many a distant land, he did not forget to send presents to the Emperor of Delhi. Thus, 110 mule-loads of melons, grapes and

apples were received in December 1740, and 81 Iraqi horses for the Emperor with several others for the leading nobles of his Court arrived at Delhi in May 1746. Muhammad Shāh, in return sent Nādir 25 *lakhs* of Rupees in December 1740, and 51 healthy young elephants in June 1746. (Anandram, 121, 168, 115 and 170.)

Nādir's conquest of Delhi was followed by incessant campaigns which shook almost every country of western and central Asia. In the course of these, his character underwent a rapid decline. He became a fierce tyrant, revelling in wanton bloodshed and cruelty, giving vent to frequent outbursts of fury and insane suspiciousness. A deep melancholy and loss of confidence in his people and officers settled on him, which made him harsh to them. The failure of his Dāghestān campaigns (1742 and 1744) broke the spell of his invincibility. Rebellions henceforth broke out in many parts of his empire; everywhere the rebels set up pretenders to the local thrones and killed the loyal officers of Nādir.

His treasury having been exhausted by his ceaseless warfare, Nādir now resorted to the cruellest extortion to fill his coffers. Many of his revenue collectors perished under torture to make them yield more and more money. All wealthy subjects lived in dread of their lives. "These rebellions only increased the violence of his temper, and his acts became even more wild", as his secretary admits. People were put to death, mutilated or blinded on the merest suspicion. On the plain outside Isfahān, he burnt alive some Hindus, Muslims and Armenians. When in January 1747 he set out from his capital for Khurāsān, in every province that he passed through he built towers of human heads after killing local nobles and commons. Each rebellion was suppressed with ferocious cruelty, but a new one soon broke out in another quarter. In short, "the last years of Nādir Shāh's reign were years of unspeakable misery for his subjects". [*Mujmil*, 10-40; Sykes.]

The most influential element in the population of Persia were the Qizilbāshes (literally *Red Heads*, from their red Turkish caps). These were the descendants of some Turkish tribes long settled in Persia and they formed the best soldiers in the East, often acting as king-makers. Nādir now began to brood over

plans for destroying all the Qizilbāshes of note and influence with the aid of his Uzbak and Afghān captains, who had latterly displaced the Qizilbashes in his trust and favour. He arranged with these foreign mercenaries to summon all the Qizilbāsh chiefs and captains to his presence next day and there massacre them, and then by a sudden attack annihilate their leaderless soldiery, giving up their property to plunder by the Uzbaks and Afghāns.

The plot, however, leaked out. The Qizilbāsh chiefs, under the leadership of the captain of the palace guard and Muhammad Khān Qāchār, took prompt action. At midnight before the day appointed for their massacre, they started, in a body of seventy, for Nadir's tent to forestall the blow. But the terror of the great king paralysed the feet of 57 of the conspirators and they slunk away from the way. Thirteen only entered Nadir's tents and slew him. [*Mujmil*, 15-20. *Jahānkashā* 461.]

## § 8. *Rise of Ahmad Abdali*

This tragedy took place near Kuchan at the extreme north-eastern corner of Khurāsān, on 9th June 1747. The death of Nādir Shāh left the field open for Ahmad Khān Abdālī.* His ancestors had their homes in the Herāt district and belonged to the Saddu-zai clan of Afghāns. His father and grandfather having been slain in battle, young Ahmad fled for refuge to the Ghilzāi clan in Qandahār. When Nādir Shāh captured Qandahār (in 1737), he took Ahmad into his service as a personal attendant (*yasāwal*). The conqueror removed the Ghilzāi clan from their home in Qandahār to Māzendrān and Khurāsān, while he shifted the Abdālī clan wholesale from Herāt and Khurāsān to the Qandahār district, which henceforth became the land of the Abdālīs.

In the service of Nādir Shāh, Ahmad Abdālī greatly distinguished himself and rose to be the chief commander of that king's

* An ancestor of Ahmad Shāh was a disciple of the saint Khwājah Abu Ahmad Abdāl of the Chishti order, and so pleased his master by his devotion that the holy man blessed him and called him *Abdāl*, a word which means a man free from earthly bonds by reason of his close communion with God. The conqueror Ahmad Shah took the title of *Durr-i-durrān* or 'Pearl among Pearls'; and hence his dynasty is also called Durrāni. [*Husain Shāhi*, 6.]

Abdali contingent (some six thousand strong.) Nādir used often to say in open Court, "I have not found in Irān Turān or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdāli in capacity and character" There is a charming legend that one day Nādir Shāh was enjoying the breeze seated on his golden throne and Ahmad was standing before him at a respectful distance, when the king cried out, "O Ahmad Abdāli! come forward." Ahmad approached, but Nādir said, "Come closer still." When Ahmad had come up, Nādir told him, "O Ahmad Khān Abdāli, remember that after me the kingship will pass on to you You must treat Nādir's family kindly' Ahmad replied in alarm, 'May I be your sacrifice! If you wish to slay me, I am present here. But there is no reason why you should utter such (unfortunate) words as these" Nādir repeated "I know for certain that you will become an Emperor Treat Nadir's descendants well' The historian Husain adds that Ahmad Shāh in his days of power was always mindful of his late master's appeal and assisted Shāhrukh Mirzā, the grandson and successor of Nādir [*Husain Shāhi* 14-15]*

After murdering Nādir at midnight, the Qizilbāsh conspirators planned to keep the fact a secret from the rest of the army till next morning, in order to attack his favoured Afghān troops by surprise, crush them and plunder their camp, and then seize all the property of the late king without a sharer But so great a secret could not be kept Ahmad heard of it before morning, stood on his defence during the rest of the night, and early next morning marched in battle array towards Nādir's tent There he found the Qizilbāsh soldiers and camp-followers engaged in indiscriminate plunder The Uzbak and Afghān contingents at once plunged into the game and "in four hours from the dawn no trace remained on the ground of the tents and property of Nādir Shāh Everything had been

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* *I.AH* Ms. has a marginal addition - "This Ahmad at first served Nādir Shāh as pipe-bearer, and was one day sitting down outside the lattice-door near the *Diwan-i-am* of Delhi fort where Nādir was then in residence, when Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh who knew the art of reading a man's future from his face, looked at him and predicted that he would become an Emperor On this speech being reported to Nādir he, knowing the Nizām's powers as a soothsayer, cut off both ears of Ahmad with his dagger, remarking, 'When you become Emperor, this will remind people of me'" ! ! !

dispersed and had disappeared." [*Mujmil*, 20-21; *Jahānkushā* 401.]

The Afghan soldiers, seeing their patron dead and themselves surrounded by hostile rivals in a foreign land, marched away rapidly from Kuchān in a compact body for self-defence against any Qizilbāsh attack. At the end of the third day they halted and held a council. Their captains said among themselves, "On the long journey before us we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to reach Qandahār with the entire body of our women, children and servants, in the face of the hostility of the Persians, unless we have a supreme chief. We must obey such a leader with all our power, whatever happens." All the Abdālis took this view and chose Ahmad as their commander, hailing him as *Ahmad Shāh*. (*Mujmil*, 74.)

Spiritual blessing was also secured by the new king. Three days before the murder of Nādir, Ahmad had met on the way a *darvish* from Lāhor named Shāh Muhammad Sābir,* who had prophesied to him, "On your forehead I read the marks of royalty." The holy man then proved his supernatural powers by a miracle. After the death of Nādir, Ahmad did not forget to take the saint with him in his flight. At the first halt the *darvish* pressed Ahmad to make himself king. The Khān pleaded his incompetence and lack of materials befitting royal grandeur. But the holy man was not to be so put off. Piling up a small mound of earth, he seized Ahmad's hand and seated him on it saying, "This is your throne." Then strewing some barley-shoots on his head, he declared them the aigrette on his crown and styled him *Durrāni Padishāh*, or 'Pearl among kings.' [*Siyar*, iii. 16; *Husain Shahi*, 17-18, 20; *Bayān*, 225; *Mujmil*, 74.]

§ 9. *Ahmad Abdali gains Qandahar and Kabul.*

Arrived at Qandahār, Ahmad published the news of Nādir Shāh's death. The Ghilzai Afghān whom the Persian king had left as his governor in this fort, plotted to kill Ahmad by treachery. But the blow was anticipated. Abdāli killed the

* Shāh Sābir was the grandson of Ustā Halālkhor, a well-known farrier of Kābul, adored by the Turānis as a *darvish*. (*Siyar*, iii. 16.)

leading conspirators and took possession of Qandahār, where he crowned himself with full pomp and struck coins in his own name. (*Mujmil* 75, *Siyar*, iii. 16.)

The Afghan tribesmen flocked to Ahmad Abdālī's standards in the hope of finding a national hero who would lead them on to a career of successful rapine as in the days of Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni. The various bodies of Nādir's soldiers scattered in different places in the Panjāb and Afghānistan were drawn together by Taqi Khān Shirāzi (Beglar-Begi) and induced to enter Abdali's service. In these ways a band of 40,000 hardy warriors (only a minority of them being Qizilbāshes) soon gathered under Ahmad. He then looked out for money to maintain them and found it very soon.

After arranging for the administration of Qandahār and taking oaths of allegiance from all the Abdālī tribesmen, Ahmad set out to conquer the provinces of Afghanistan from Nādir's officers. He first took possession of Ghazni after some fighting and installed his own governor there. Nāsir Khan, a hereditary servant of the Delhi empire, had been forced by Nādir Shāh to continue as his governor of Afghanistan when that country was ceded to Persia by the treaty of 1739. In May 1747 he had left Kābul for Khurāsān at Nādir's call to deliver the accumulated revenue of Kābul, Peshāwar and Sindh, amounting to 30 lakhs of Rupees. When he reached the neighbourhood of Qandahār, the news of Nādir's murder had already spread abroad, and this treasure was looted and divided by some neighbouring tribal chiefs among themselves. But soon afterwards Ahmad arrived there, arrested these chieftains and forced them to disgorge the money.

The Abdālī sent Nasir Khan back to Kābul to act as governor on his behalf, but Nāsir's heart was averse to this service, and he left Kābul for Peshāwar (his winter headquarters) in order to be within easy reach of Delhi. The Abdāli then advanced north and took unopposed possession of Kābul, from which Nāsir's deputy had fled away.

Ever since his accession to the throne Ahmad Abdālī had been issuing invitations to the Afghān clans all over the country to join him and help to recover the lost sovereignty and empire of their race. Many of these tribal chiefs flocked to his standard to

share in the alluring career of plunder under such a born general and national leader. From Kabul Ahmad sent an advanced detachment to occupy Peshāwar and plunder the country up to Attock on the Indus. At the news of the invaders' approach, Nasir Khan evacuated Peshāwar, crossed the river and took refuge in the land of Chach Hazāra, but he was driven out of this district by another Afghān force under Ahmad's commander-in-chief Sardār-i-Jahān, and fled to Lāhor (Nov.) giving up all his property to plunder.

The Abdāli now established his own rule in Peshāwar, which city served as a very convenient starting point for the invasion of Hindustan, with the man-power of Afgahnistan behind him and no great physical obstacle in front. The Khaibar Afghans quickly gathered round him and a plan of invasion was matured. [Anand, 300-302; *Siyar* iii. 16-17; *Bayān* 224.]

### § 10. *Abdali invades the Panjab and captures Lahor.*

Meantime, at the news of the Abdāli's march towards Peshāwar, Hayātullah had issued from Lāhor and taken up an entrenched position on the bank of the Rāvi, appealing to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, which never came.

Leaving Peshāwar about the middle of December 1747, Ahmad Abdāli crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, and the Jhilam and the Chināb by the same device, and arrived near Lāhor on 8th January 1748, his track being marked by a line of sacked and burning villages. Twelve thousand picked horsemen followed him, the core of them being composed of 6,000 devoted and veteran soldiers of his own clan who had accompanied him from Persia. A number of Afghān adventurers from the frontier also joined him on foot, in the hope of plundering the rich plains of India. This raised the invading force probably to 18,000 men, but they were absolutely without cannon.

The Abdāli's religious guide Bābā Sābir entered Lāhor alone, avowedly to visit his mother who was living in that city, and also to make a pilgrimage to the local saints' tombs, but really to deliver to Hayātullah an invitation from the Abdāli to join him. His fame as a magician had preceded him, and people talked how his spells had turned a number of toy tents and horses

into real cavalry and war equipment for Ahmad immediately after Nadir's death. It was now reported that Sabir had come to Lahor in order to render the Mughal artillery powerless by his charms. So formidable an enemy could not be suffered to escape. He was at once arrested by order of Hayātullah, and next day put to death by a subordinate officer without the governor's knowledge. [*Bayān* 225, *Siyar* iii. 17-18, Anand 325.]

After this the Abdali could no longer think of conciliating Hayatullah. On 10th January his soldiers forded the Rāvi one by one and reached the Shalamār garden four miles east of the city. Next day they appeared in force on the plain of Shah Baladil and the hermitage of Shah Husain. The advanced posts of the defenders were two: the small fort of Hazarat Ishān held by Hayatullah's pay-master, and an entrenchment close to the hermitage of Shāh Baladil (in the Parvizabād suburb)* commanded by Mirza Asmatullah and Lāchin Beg. These two divisions, totalling 16,000 men, now issued to the plain to meet the enemy. The Afghans sent out only a thousand mounted musketeers, who galloped up to the Mughals, fired their pieces, and as quickly rode back beyond range. The battle raged in this manner till evening, neither side being able to make an advance from its position. About sunset, the Indian troops, regarding the fighting as over for the day, set out to return to their trenches in the careless disorder that usually marks their retirement, when the Afghan horsemen delivered a sudden attack, charging them at full speed and firing such sharp volleys from their muskets that the imperialists were completely taken by surprise and driven off the field in hopeless rout. The paymaster and other captains, without making any attempt to rally their men in the redoubt or the trenches, fled at once to the shelter of the walled city. Admā Beg alone stood outside the city during the first quarter of the night firing his guns to keep the exultant Afghāns back from

* *Hazrat Ishān*, a saint honoured by Jahangir, lies buried close to the west of Begampura, two miles from Lahor city, north of the Shāhbāgh road. The fighting took place in the tract east of old Lahor which is thus described in the *Lahore Dist. Gazetteer* (ed. 1883) p. 149: "From the city walls to Shālamār, Miān Mir and Ichra—a circle with a radius of some three or four miles—the ground is strewn with debris interspersed with crumbling mosques, tombs, gateways and gigantic mounds."

advancing nearer than the Hazrat Ishan. Then he came back to his master and reported the situation. Hayātullah found Lahor untenable and fled away from the city at midnight,* and his officers and soldiers followed his example, each man only thinking how to save himself.

The rich capital of the Panjāb lay utterly undefended. Next morning (12th January) Mir Mumin and other faithful officers of the late Zakariya Khān who had been kept in confinement by Hayatullah, went on a mission of entreaty to the Abdali's tent. For a ransom of 30 *lakhs* of Rupees the Afghān victor agreed to spare the city the calamity of a sack, and sent his provosts to keep his soldiers back from entering Lāhor. A good deal of plunder, however, unavoidably took place in the collapse of all government.

The capture of Lahor more than doubled the strength of Ahmad. Not only did he gain immense wealth in the form of the city's ransom (Rs. 22 lakhs immediately paid) and the property of the governor and his family, but he was thus enabled to equip himself with all the imperial artillery and military stores in the fort, of which he had brought none from Peshāwar. Further, he seized all the horses and camels that he could find in and near Lāhor, mounted his Afghān footmen on the horses and his swivel-guns on the camels, and in this way added five or six thousand hardy men to his mobile division, with a good number of rapidly portable light artillery.

Thus completing his preparations and feeling confident that he could now face the regular army of Delhi on equal terms, he started from Lāhor on 19th February, at the head of 12,000 men, leaving his own governor in that city, and marching eastwards to

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* *Siyar* 18, ascribes the defeat to the inaction of Adina Beg who did not support the *bakhshi* in the attempt to expel the Afghans from the trenches and his cowardice in retreating to the city in broad daylight. *T. Ah.* passes over the whole fight, merely stating that Hayatullah sent a force under Jumla Kh. Afghan of Qasur, who instead of opposing the Abdāli went over to him and so Hayatullah being unable to fight fled away. I follow Anandram, a resident of Lahor.

This Jumla Kh. was left by Abdāli in Lahor as his governor when marching to Sarhind. [Anand 332.]

Sarhind on the road to Delhi. [Anand, 312, 325-332. Bayan 227, Siyar, iii. 17-18, Husain Shahi 25.]

## § 11. *Slackness and indecision of Delhi Court.*

Let us now see what the imperial Government had been doing in the meantime in the face of this terrible danger. The Emperor had received many and early warnings of the coming invasion, but infatuation had seized his Court, and even the fresh memory of the loss and humiliation suffered during Nadir's invasion could not awaken any of his officers to a sense of their duty and the needs of the situation. Irresolution, conflict of counsel, procrastination and inertia now marked the measures of the Delhi Government to an even more shameful extent than when the Persian conqueror was threatening it.

As early as 1st September 1747, Muhammad Shāh had received from Amir Beg (Nāsir Khan's deputy at Kābul) the copy of a proclamation issued by the Abdālī on 15th July, appointing Muhammad Hashim Afridi the chieftain ("mālik and grey-beard") of all the Afridi tribesmen in the Peshāwar district (Anandrām, 298.) About the middle of November followed the report of the Abdali's occupation of Kabul and of the appearance of a detachment of his troops near Attock, oppressing and plundering the entire district. Close on its heels came the news of the invader's capture of Peshāwar and the flight of Nāsir Khān to Lahor.

The situation which resulted at Lāhor from Hayātullah's usurpation of its government put the imperial Court into the greatest perplexity. The usurper held the lawful deputy governor Yahya Khān in his hands, and the despatch of a force from the capital to oust him might drive him to kill his captive, who was a son-in-law of the wazir. Therefore, by the wazir's advice the Emperor had temporised with Hayātullah, sent him smooth messages, and even held protracted parleys with the envoy sent by the rebel to Delhi to secure the *subahdāri* for himself. The situation was made more critical by the Abdālī's conquest of Qandahār and Kābul, which naturally raised the fear that if he invaded India the least sign of disfavour at the Delhi Court would drive Hayātullah into the arms of the invader. Therefore,

the Delhi Government, instead of boldly facing the danger and crushing the rebel at Lāhor by a prompt and vigorous attack, found wisdom in doing nothing but talking indecisively and letting matters drift.

Even when the Emperor learnt that the invaders had taken Peshāwar and their advanced troops had appeared near Attock (early in November), he did not realize the seriousness of the threat to Lāhor. True, he sent his advance tents out of Delhi one day's march towards the Panjāb on 23rd November, but he fixed a date fully three weeks later (14th December) for actually starting from his capital. He was confirmed in his blindness by the report that the Afghān raiders had gone back from Attock to Peshāwar. The news was very grateful to his indolent and weak character. He had lived in Delhi now for 28 years since his accession, without ever going more than a few miles outside his capital (except on two occasions only). He had grown extremely ease-loving, and in addition was now suffering from the effects of the opium habit. At this time he fell ill again and the doctors forbade him to move.

What was to be done to meet the danger from the north-west? On this question there was a sharp division of opinion at his Court. Seasoned captains told His Majesty that unless he led the army in person, the ease-loving soldiers of Hindustān would not face the veterans of Irān. The carpet-knights of the Court, who had never seen a battle, bragged that the Afghān upstart did not deserve the honour of the Shāhān-shāh taking the field in person against him and that any one of his nobles could bring him back a captive tied hand and foot. The wazir, who was wiser, warned the Emperor that if he wished to achieve victory he must march out of Delhi and go at least to some place nearer to Lāhor, such as Pānipat or Karnāl, and thence send the army on under the wazir to meet the invasion. "The Emperor in speech agreed to this counsel, but he could never resolve on such action and constantly put off the date fixed for his starting." Nothing was therefore done. Inaction is the course dearest to imbeciles. [*Mujmil*, 99; Anandrām, 308-312.]

## § 12. *Forces sent from Delhi to oppose Abdali.*

On 22nd December Muhammad Shah learnt that the Abdali had begun his march from Peshawar towards Lahor with a strong force. All the State treasuries in Delhi were emptied and *two lakhs* of Rupees were thus collected which were distributed among the nobles to enable them to equip themselves for this campaign. That aged drunkard and smooth-tongued advocate of utter inaction, the wazir Qamruddin Khan, was appointed supreme commander, with Safdar Jang (*subahdar* of Oudh), Ishwari Singh (Rajah of Jaipur and chief of the Rajput feudatories) and Nasir Khan (late governor of Kabul) as his assistants. Even after this the delay made by them in moving was disgraceful.

At long last this huge army, numbering with its camp followers more than two hundred thousand souls and encumbered with heavy artillery, began its slow and ponderous march from Delhi, halting frequently on the way. It had not yet reached Narelā (16 miles north of Delhi), when the news came that the Abdāli had already taken Lahor and was raising fresh troops there. The Delhi army was overcome with terror of the enemy. The generals sent a deputation to the Emperor, begging that he should despatch his son to lead them. There was no help for it now; the Emperor agreed. Prince Ahmad started from Delhi on 31st January. Overtaking the main army near Sonpat, he quickened its pace. Karnal was rapidly crossed (19th February) because of the bad omen of its having witnessed another foreign invader's triumph over the Delhi forces nine years earlier! Here it was learnt that Ali Muhammad Ruhelā, the imperial *faujdār* of Sarhind, had deserted his station and fled to his home, Aonla in the Barily district, so that the most important outpost between Lahor and Delhi was left without a defender. The prince, therefore, pushed on as fast as he could and arrived near Sarhind on the 25th.

The enemy had not yet been sighted nor had any news of his movements reached the imperialists. "The nobles displayed an astounding ignorance and neglect. They made no attempt to collect intelligence; they did not care to guard their communications with Delhi in the rear, nor the route for the coming of

provisions to their camp, but left Sarhind in this state of negligence. The enemy's cavalry would have met with no obstacle on the way if it had made a dash on Delhi. [Anandrām.]

The women of the wazir's harem and all the heavy baggage, treasure and surplus stores and carts of this huge army were left in the small fort of Sarhind with a garrison of 1,000 horse and foot under a eunuch of the wazir, while the army advanced towards the Satlaj. The straight route between Sarhind and Lahor crosses that river at Ludhiānā, but as the water-level was lower at the ford of Māchhiwārā 22 miles above Ludhiana, the imperial chiefs decided to make a detour *via* Machhiwārā, thus leaving the customary and shorter road far to their left. And yet they did not send any detachment to hold Ludhiāna, nor even posted scouts there to watch for the enemy's appearance. Worse than that, the advancing army immediately lost touch with its depot at Sarhind, as it did not care to maintain a lengthening chain of outposts from that base to itself.

As against such incredible infatuation and military incompetence, the enemy displayed unusual alertness and activity. The Abdāli's force consisted of about twelve thousand* mounted men without heavy artillery but extremely mobile and armed with nearly a thousand light pieces (swivels, *jizail*) placed on camels which could move as fast as the cavalry. In addition, the ruthless vigour of this veteran lieutenant of the Persian Napoleon maintained strict secrecy about his movements. The "Abdāli had ordered his troops to slay every Indian whom they might find in their camp or in the plains, so that not a single spy of the wazir or of any other noble who went out to scout returned alive." Thus, quite in the dark about the enemy's position and intentions the doomed Indian army marched out of Sarhind on 27th February and reached Bharaoli (14 miles north of that town and eleven miles short of Māchhiwārā.) While halting here, the imperialists were astonished to learn that the Abdāli had cut into their rear, seized Sarhind, annihilated its garrison, and

* According to Anandrām (p. 332) Abdāli left Lahor with nearly 30,000 men. Six to seven thousand men had accompanied Abdāli from Peshawar to Lahor acc. to *Ashub*, ii. 454, (25,000 acc. to Anandrām, 312.)

got possession of all their treasure, artillery and women left there. We shall now see how this happened. [*Mujmil* 101. Anand 318, 325, 322-324, 333-337. *Parson* 228-232, *T.Ah.* 4b-5a.]

### § 13. *Abdali captures Sarhind*

After leaving Lahor on 19th February, the Abdali had forded the Satlaj at Ludhiana (1st March) and pushed on to Sarhind (40 miles south-eastwards); in the course of the following night, early next morning he delivered an impetuous attack on the utterly surprised garrison of the fort. The fire of his camel swivels drove the defenders away from the walls. Then the Afghāns by one rush reached the gate of the fort, broke it open and entered within, pillaging, slaying and burning the thatched houses in the fort and the city. The imperial musketeers soon exhausted their powder and shot and were then butchered, the women were reduced to slavery. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect of this victory on the whole campaign. All the rockets, military stores, treasure etc. of the Delhi army, except what was carried by the troops in the field, fell into the Abdāli's hands and immensely strengthened him. The imperialists were correspondingly depressed; their rear was cut into and the invader was reported to be on the march to Delhi with a clear path before him. The alarm reached the capital (about 10th March); the Emperor ordered a detachment to go with artillery to Sarāi Bādli, 7 miles northwest of Delhi, and block the invader's route. The ordinary citizens made a rush to flee from the city and thus escape a repetition of Nādir's massacre, but the police, under orders, shut the gates to keep them in. Many citizens however sent their women outside in disguise. [*T.Ah.* 6a.]

After taking Sarhind, the Abdali wisely sent his booty, tents and heavy baggage to Lahor, in order to lighten his force. Then he entrenched his camp in the imperial garden outside Sarhind, put in a garrison of 4,000 to defend this base, and issued to seek the imperialists out. [Anand 337, *Siyar* 19, *Mujmil* 102.]

### § 14. *Delhi army at Manupur*

The news of the loss of Sarhind was brought to the prince's camp late on 2nd March by ten Persian scouts whom Safdar

Jang had sent out. But the wazir, blinded by conceit, would not believe it, as none of his own spies had returned. Therefore, the imperial army lost one precious day in sending out fresh scouts to verify the report. When the news was found to be too true, "it so alarmed the chiefs and soldiers of India that they were on the point of dispersing without offering battle." The prince immediately beat a hurried retreat from Bharāoh towards Sarhind and reached Mānupur, a village ten miles north-west of the latter city, where the enemy were sighted. Here the imperialists halted and began to entrench themselves as a measure of defence. Guns were ranged round the tents of the prince and the other generals, their wheels being chained together in the Turkish fashion, ditches were dug and the earth heaped up to form ramparts, and *sangars* (musket-houses) were built at suitable points. (*Mujmil,* 103.)

The huge host, with its followers, spread over 14 or 15 miles of ground. It was a dry region with only a few wells. Some more wells were dug but not enough for that vast gathering of men and beasts. Severe scarcity of water soon made itself felt; their food supply was altogether stopped by the roving bands of the enemy. The Indian army completely immobilized itself in the face of such a swift raiding force of invaders; it was, in effect, completely invested. [Anand, 339, 343.] The Abdālī also entrenched his advanced camp, five miles north-west of Sarhind and about the same distance in front of the imperial camp at Mānupur. His roving bands had daily skirmishes with the patrols round the Delhi force. He had brought with himself only seven small portable pieces (*top-i-jilau*) and therefore could not reply to the heavier and more numerous artillery of the imperialists, nor venture near the Mughal trenches within the range of these guns. But the imperial host was thrown entirely on the defensive; its unwieldy size made it vulnerable at many points and its surrender through starvation was only a question of time. The imbecile wazir rejected the idea of seeking a decision by fight before his food supply gave out, as "his plan was to avoid an action, but to cut off the enemy's food supply by inciting the neighbouring zamindars to attack his foraging parties and in the end to overpower him with artillery fire." From 4th to 11th March this fruitless cannonade continued.

But at last the wazir's hands were forced when he saw the price he must pay for the policy of inaction which left all the initiative to the enemy. The Abdali had brought a large gun from Lahor and on the 9th mounted it on a hillock overlooking the wazir's camp; its fire began to kill his men and camels, and so he decided to risk a pitched battle two days later as preferable to such helpless slaughter. (Anand 345.)

In the morning of the appointed day (11th March 1748), all the divisions of the Delhi army got ready. The wazir was to have issued on his elephant and led the attack. He had nearly finished his morning prayer and recital, when a cannon ball struck the ground outside his tent, rebounded over the wall and falling inside wounded him mortally in the waist.

People could not believe that it was by pure accident that a single shot fired in that direction was so well-aimed as to reach that particular tent and hit the wazir seated within it. The contemporary Anandram narrates the story that some days before this two spies of the Abdali had gone to the wazir, pretending to have been former artillerymen of Zakariyā Khan and now deserters from the compulsory service of the invader. Being fully trusted by him, they in a few days learnt all about his place of residence, habits and hours for different kinds of work, and then returned to the Afghan camp on the plea of bringing over more deserters. The information supplied by these men so guided the Afghan gunners that one shot was enough to kill the wazir. Ghulam Ali, writing in 1807, says that Mahdi Quli Beg, the Abdali's chief of ordnance, had visited the wazir with a pretended proposal of peace, and measured the distance of his tent by counting his steps. [Anand; *Imad-us-Sā'dat*, 38.]

The wazir knew that his wound was mortal. Calling Muin-ul-mulk from the trenches, he told him, "My son, it is all over with me. But the Emperor's work is not yet finished. Before this news spreads, do you quickly ride out and deliver the assault. After that has been done, you may think of me." These were his last words. Muin rose to the occasion; he suppressed his filial tears, hurriedly buried his father's corpse, wrapped up in its blood-stained clothes, in the floor of his sleeping tent, and levelled the sand over it, to remove all signs. Then he mounted his father's elephant and going to the army in the

field publicly declared that the wazir was ill of a cold and had deputed him to lead the army in his place

But an event so momentous could not be totally concealed Muin imparted the news in secret to the captains of the wazir's division and made an appeal, telling them 'Advance with me or stand back from the battle as you like it but do not take to flight during the fighting and thereby ruin our cause I myself shall fight on till my death' (*Bayān* 233)

## § 15 *Battle of Manupur*

The imperial army consisted of about sixty thousand combatants, formed in five main divisions the Vanguard consisting of the wazir's contingent of Turks now led by his son Muin, the Right wing under Safdar Jang at the head of a picked body of Irani soldiers taken over from Nādir's army, besides Indians of the Purbia class, the Centre under Prince Ahmad and his guardians the Left wing formed by a large contingent of Rajput horse under Ishwari Singh of Jaipur and other Rajahs, and the Rearguard under Nāsir Khan The baggage camp was placed behind the Centre In the actual fighting the Vanguard formed one line abreast of the two wings

The Abdālī's army on the best estimate was not more than 12,000 strong, and the imperialists were five-fold superior to him in number of men and immeasurably stronger in artillery

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* Battle of Manupur best accounts, Anandram 343-377 *T Ah* 6b-9a, and *Mujmil* 104-112 (after discounting his Shia partisanship) *Bayan* 233-235 and *Siyar* iii 19 are brief but helpful *Husain Shahi* 27-29, much later, meagre and derivative Anandram and *T Ah* differ greatly as regards the events after the battle but *T Ah* is the best authority for these *Imād-us-Sa'ādat* Lucknow gossip

At Manupur the Abdali's army is most correctly estimated at not more than 12,000 troopers and the imperialists at between 60 and 70 thousand [*T Ah* 5b] *Siyar* iii 19 makes an underestimate, 'Abdali's forces did not exceed 6 or 7 thousand while Anandram 332 exaggerates the number to 'nearly 30,000 troopers' The Delhi army is swollen by rumour to 'more than 2 lakhs of men and 240 pieces of cannon' [*Mujmil* 100], and even 2½ lakhs [*Husain Shāhi*, 24] The force with which Abdali had marched upon Lahor is given by Ashub ii 454 as 6 to 7 thousand (an underestimate), by *Husain Shāhi* as 12,000 (most likely), and by Anandram 312 as 25,000 (inflated) *T Ah* 7b makes a self-contradictory slip, placing Safdar J in the Left W and Ishwari S in the Right Wing

The Indian lines were drawn out too long and their Centre was too well protected in front by formidable rows of big guns. The Abdali knew his own inferiority in number and gun-power and determined to make the best use of the superior mobility and energy of his soldiers by not fighting a regular battle of the conventional type, division against division, but by merely containing the imperial Centre and directing his main attack on the van and the two wings, so as to break through them and threaten the Indian camp in the rear. A special division was told off to fall upon the imperialists' baggage by any path it could find during the confusion of the fight.

The conflict began at noon. The Afghāns opened the attack. The fury of their assault first fell on the imperial vanguard. The Abdālī's chief commander Muhammad Taqi Khān Shirazi assailed it at the head of 3,000 Qizilbāsh troops (i.e., Turks settled in Persia). These according to their usual tactics made a succession of charges, each time galloping up, delivering a rapid volley, then quickly falling back as the imperialists pressed forward, and advancing again to the attack after being refreshed and reinforced. The fight in this quarter was most obstinate. Muin and his comrades fought with desperate valour and caused heavy slaughter among the Afghāns, who were checked by the sheer weight of numbers and devastated by the heavy artillery in the Mughal trenches. The Abdālī repeatedly pushed up supports to Muhammad Taqi to maintain the battle. Muin stood his ground but with heavy losses.

Very early in the fight the Afghāns had found an easier prey in the Rājputs (the Left wing). A body of 3,000 of the Abdālī's horsemen with 200 swivels carried on camels, had formed itself in two divisions. Each half galloped up to within easy range of the Rājputs, delivered their fire, and galloped back like the wind. Immediately afterwards the second group attacked in the same way. Thus, while the Rajputs were waiting for the enemy and twirling their moustaches in full confidence of victory by their clever swordsmanship and reckless courage when the contest would come to the decision of cold steel, they found hundreds of their saddles being emptied at each volley without their being able to touch an enemy. This strange method of warfare shook the nerves of the Rājputs, trained in the obsolete tactics of two

centuries ago The Afghans seized the moment and drove into the confused and wavering crowd, cutting it up 'like the sections of a cucumber.' The Rājput leader, Ishwari Singh had early heard of the wazir's death, and received despairing counsel from his chief adviser, a barber (?), who had told him 'When the wazir is dead, what can *you* do against the Abdālī?' Seeing the havoc among his followers and no chance of restoring the fight under the circumstances, the Rajah at once fled away from the field abandoning his section of the trenches also. So hurried was his flight that he threw his kettle-drums and light artillery (*rahkala*) into wells and abandoned his baggage to be looted by the rascals of the army. His leaderless followers scattered right and left and crowded into the trenches of the prince and Muin for shelter.

By the path thus left open, one Afghan division penetrated to the baggage and after plundering it turned to the rear of Muin's trenches on the heels of the fugitive Rājputs. Even the imperial Centre was threatened, and the prince in alarm appealed to Safdar Jang for aid. Desertions to the rear began among the Indian fighters, both generals and common soldiers being panic-stricken.

Muin delivered a counter-charge on the Afghān Centre and engaged it at close quarters, with heavy slaughter on both sides. Muin's skin was grazed by a bullet, his brother Fakhr-ud-din received a shot in his foot, the brave Adinā Beg was twice wounded, and Jānish Khān and some other Turāni *sardārs* of this division were slain. This was the crisis of the battle. But the scale was soon turned in favour of the Indians by the bravery and enterprise of Safdar Jang and a happy accident.

One of the Afghān divisions had been posted opposite Safdar Jang (on the imperial Right wing.) By Ahmad Abdālī's order 700 of his camel-swivels had been advanced to a hillock overlooking Safdar Jang's position; here the camels were made to lie down, their knees were tied together, and the swivels were directed against the Indian troops. Safdar Jang met this danger by dismounting 1700 of his musketeers and sending them to charge up the hillock on foot. With one concerted volley of their long pieces (*jizails*) these men slew many of the Afghān gunners, routed the survivors, and captured all their camels and

swivels. A counter-attack failed to recover the hillock; the Abdālī's men, as they ran up the slope, were shot down by the soldiers of Safdar Jang in possession of the crest. Thus the Afghan wing engaging the imperial Right was decisively defeated. Safdar Jang now had breathing time; he detached men to reinforce the prince (in the Centre), and made a bold advance into the field with all his troops in line, preceded by rockets, long firelocks (*jizail*) and light artillery (*rahkala*), in order to draw away the Afghan attack from Muin (van) upon himself.

Meantime some carts full of rockets which the Abdālī had captured caught fire from the recklessness of the plunderers; several thousands of rockets at once flew up into the air; the sparks falling from them ignited the gunpowder of the Afghan field artillery, a thousand of the Abdali's soldiers were burnt to death, and utter disorder fell on their ranks. This calamity coupled with Safdar Jang's intervention in the contest in the Mughal van, which came just when the enemy had been checked by Muin, at last decided the day. The Afghan soldiers resisted no longer, but broke and fled.

### § 16. *Defeat and retreat of Afghan army.*

Ahmad Abdali however was too good a general to admit an utter defeat. He put a bold face on it and made a firm stand in a small mudfort a short distance behind the battle-field, checking the Mughal advance by musket-fire. By the time the imperialists brought big guns to bear on the fort, night had descended and the Afghans fled away under cover of the darkness. To the Mughals the victory was quite unlooked for and they durst not follow it up at once, but deemed it wiser to keep a careful watch in their own trenches during the whole of the night, each man sleeping fully armed in his own appointed place, the generals sitting on horseback, the sentries regularly going round, and random shots being fired by way of precaution till next morning.

Ahmad Abdali retired from the field in the course of that night, with only two to three thousand followers, many of whom were wounded. The imperialists could not set out in pursuit on the following day nor even for four days after their victory, as they were quite in the dark about the enemy's real condition and

exact position Rumours spread in their camp that the Afghān commander-in-chief had been slain, and even that the Abdālī king himself was killed or at least wounded No Indian soldier durst go out singly to scout. The Abdālī beguiled the prince and Safdar Jang for a few days by sending envoys to ask for terms of peace, and used this respite to get his broken army together, sent away his camp baggage and treasure to Lahor by a neglected path, and finally one night began his retreat towards Lāhor quite unperceived It was only on the 16th of March, or five days after the battle, that the imperial army ventured to march out towards the Afghān camp, in full strength and battle array, but found it deserted The jungle which covered all the land from Sarhind to the river Satlaj rendered pursuit slow and ineffective Even the scouts could not get prompt and correct intelligence of the enemy On the 18th, the Mughals recovered Sarhind Ahmad Abdālī crossed over at Ludhiānā the day before and then went on to Lāhor This city he first vacated of his booty, and then hastened towards Qandahār *via* Peshawar, as he had heard that his deputy and nephew Luqmān Khān had rebelled during his absence [Anand, 370—377, *T.Ah* 8*a*-9*b*, *Mujmil*, 112]

The last brush with the enemy took place on 17th March, and two days later the prince resumed his advance, arriving at the bank of the Satlaj near Ludhiāna on the 21st Here a halt for some days was made to refresh the troops worn out by the fight and the march through the jungle This halt was prolonged for weeks, because Safdar Jang, who had become the centre of all affairs after the wazir's death, fell ill and took to his bed for 10 or 12 days All further operations were stopped on 9th April, when letters were received from the Emperor urgently recalling the prince to Court and appointing Muin-ul-mulk governor of Lāhor and Nāsir Khān that of Kābul These two were now given their *congé* and the prince set his face towards Delhi on the 12th [*T.Ah*. 9*b*-10*b*]

CHAPTER VI

# MALWA AND RAJPUTANA DOWN TO 1741

## § 1 *Condition of the Rajputs during the decline of the imperial power*

With the death of Rāj Singh of Mewār (1680), the last hero of the Sisodia clan passed away. The Mahārānā who had ever since the coming of the Mughals filled the highest place in the public eye among the Hindu chiefs of India, now fell back into complete isolation and obscurity. His unrivalled social status and the mythical glamour of his blood still remained, but in the political field, from the beginning of the 18th century onwards, the primacy among the Rājputs was contested between the Kachhwāh and the Rāthor. The once third-rate and obscure house of Amber had risen in the course of a century and a half to the front rank by the most brilliant and valued service to the empire in far apart fields, thanks to the signal capacity for war and diplomacy displayed by four generations of its chieftains,—Bhagwan Dās and Mān Singh under Akbar, Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib, and Sawāi Jai Singh under the later Mughals. The Kachhwāh dynasty ended by challenging the old hereditary pre-eminence of the Rāthors in the Mughal Court, which Ajit Singh's minority and the 30 years' war in Mārwār after Jaswant's death had naturally eclipsed. This jealous rivalry between Jaipur and Jodhpur is the dominating factor of Rājput society* even under British rule.

The disorder and destruction following from this contest for primacy were immensely multiplied by the entrance of another factor into Rājput politics in the middle 18th century, which ended only with the total ruin and humiliation of this noble

* In Oct. 1923, when I visited Jaipur to inspect its historical records at the invitation of the Government, the first question that a very intelligent hereditary noble of the State put to me was, "You have studied the history of India much; tell me whether you consider the Kachhwāhs greater than the Rāthors or the reverse"! This is the state of public feeling in that country even in the twentieth century.

race The imperial Government of Delhi had held together and protected all the feudatory States of India But when the Emperor became a lifeless shadow confined within the harem, when the wazir's sole pursuit was pleasure varied only by contests with his Court rivals, this unifying bond and common controlling authority was dissolved No superior power was left to enforce lawful rights and prevent ambitious conflicts between one vassal State and another, or between one prince and another of the same royal house All the pent up personal ambitions and inter-State rivalries now burst forth without fear or check, and Rājputana became a *zoological garden* with the barriers of the cages thrown down and the keepers removed The fiercest animal passions raged throughout the land, redeemed only now and then by individual instances of devotion and chivalry which had not yet totally disappeared from the human bosom

There was no crime which a Rājput would not commit for the sake of land Father killed son and son murdered father Women of the noblest rank gave poison to their trusting kinsmen Kings took the lives of loyal ministers None, not even the highest born descendant of the god Rāma, shrank from buying the aid of an alien plunderer to decide his domestic contests

War is the only profession for which the Rājput gentleman and noble is fitted by character, tradition and training, and land is the only possession that can give him a life of honour and comfort But when the Mughal empire reached its fullest expansion and the later Emperors became too timid to embark on new wars and too pleasure-loving to maintain large armies for defence, the Rajput manhood became doomed to unemployment idleness and vice No honourable and lucrative career abroad was left open to them Confined within the narrow limits of their sterile homes, they turned their swords against one another Civil war raged in every family, which quickly involved the neighbouring States as the allies of one or other of the rivals Every prince's land-hunger at the expense of his neighbours now burst forth, heedless of consequences The Marātha and the Pindhāri ravaged the land This sickening tale continued for over eighty years, and the sacrifice of the Indian Iphigenia, Krishna Kumāri, was only one among the many tragedies that

blackened Rajput history during this truly dark age. Disorder, public plunder, economic ruin and moral degradation were the chronic condition of Rājasthān from the declining years of Muhammad Shāh to the day when British suzerainty was accepted by the land and British peace came at last to heal the wounds of the long suffering race. War, domestic and foreign ceased, and since then the martial manhood of Rājputana has sunk into the placid sleep of opium, for

> Unknown to them, when sensual pleasures cloy
> To fill the languid pause with finer joy.

Aurangzib's policy and measures had totally alienated the Rājput race, with the exception of a small number of the Hadā and other minor clansmen, and driven them outside the service and civilising influence of the Delhi Government. The result, as we all know, was harmful to the empire; but it was even more ruinous to the Rājputs themselves. The Rājputs, who had filled Indian history during the preceding three centuries, began in the 18th century to find themselves a played out race, falling steadily to the background in Indian life. Self-centred and doomed to inertia within their own out-of-the-way corner of India, they were year by year outstripped by the moving races of our country.

The Rājput racial character and habits made them quite unsuitable material for the new type of warfare and the long campaigns which began to prevail in the middle of the 18th century. The use of longer-ranged and more rapidly firing muskets and the elaborate organisation and diversified branches of armies following European lines introduced a radical change to which the Rajputs were incapable of adjusting themselves. The new warfare was incompatible with the system of minutely subdivided and mutually jealous clans under which they had been brought up. Moreover, war had now become immensely more costly. The day was past when all fighting could be done by yeomen-retainers who left their villages with horse and spear, followed their lord in his battles, and returned to their fields after a brief season's campaign. The poverty of the Rājput States, their sterile soil, sparse immobile population, and lack of trade, kept the resources of their chiefs down to a low primitive standard of scantiness and simplicity. These were quite inade-

grate for the universal equipment with muskets, the extended use of artillery the profuse expenditure of munitions both in the field and in the previous training, and the feeding of armies for long campaigns outside the homeland, which the wars of the middle 18th century demanded The lords of Rājasthān found themselves unable to stand against foes from outside, and could vent their energies in domestic brawls only

### § 2 *The chief centres of dispute in Rājputāna under Muhammad Shah*

The three storm centres in Rājputāna in the second quarter of the 18th century were Bundi, Jaipur, and Mārwār In the Hādā country there had recently sprung up a rivalry for the headship of that clan between the old senior branch with its seat at Bundi and the junior branch enjoying the appanage of Kotā which the Emperor Jahāngir had in 1624 made independent of the former by declaring its chief a feudatory holding directly of the Crown A quarrel was precipitated in 1707 by the then Kotā chief claiming the headship of the entire Hādā clan Their rivalry was encouraged by Aurangzib's sons at that time and later by the Sayyid brothers and some other Delhi nobles to serve their own ends But this quarrel was submerged by a greater threat to the honour of the clan when Sawāi Jai Singh embarked upon a campaign of ambition to make Bundi a vassal of Jaipur by ousting its legitimate ruler Budh Singh and giving his throne to Dalil Singh (a laird of the house of Karwar) in 1729 The various attempts of the dispossessed Budh Singh and his gallant son Ummed Singh to recover their own constitute the history of that part of Rājputāna during the next 19 years and ended in the complete triumph of Ummed Singh

In Jaipur the struggle raged between Ishwari Singh (reign 1743—1750) and his younger brother Mādho Singh, the latter claiming to set aside the eldest-born of his father on the ground of his own mother being the Mahārāna's daughter, to whose offspring Jai Singh had promised the succession at the time of marrying her Ishwari Singh held his own during his life time by heavy concessions to his brother, and it was only

after his death without issue that the throne passed to Madho Singh.

In Marwar the rivals were Ram Singh, the successor of Mahārajah Abhay Singh and his paternal uncle Bakht Singh, the chief of Nāgor. The contest began in 1749, soon after the death of Abhay Singh and though Bakht Singh gained the throne in 1751 and bequeathed it to his own progeny, the land knew no peace till the death of the dispossessed Rām Singh in 1773.

Each of these three dynastic quarrels drew into its vortex the neighbours of the two main contestants, and in time all three became merged into one, with a clear-cut array of allies facing opponents similarly confederated. The Marāthas were called in to decide the issue, and that by every party and almost in every year. In the end the three claimants mentioned above gained their ancestral thrones, but only after ruining and weakening their kingdoms and leaving the Marāthas in supreme command over a divided impotent and impoverished Rājputānā which lay helplessly subject to their annual exactions and ravage. Such is the mournful story of Rajasthān upon which we shall now enter.

### § 3. *Character of the leading Rajput princes*

A study of the characters of the chief actors in this tragic drama will help us to understand the course of events better. The two out-standing personages of this period, in energy, persistence and courage, were Bakht Singh Rāthor and Ummed Singh Hādā. But the most remarkable Rajput prince in Muhammad Shah's reign was Sawai Jai Singh II, best known as the astronomer-prince and the founder of Jaipur city. His greatness sprang from his extraordinary intellectual keenness and versatility, political wisdom, taste for culture, and ideas of reform far in advance of his society. He had begun his reign as a lad of 18 (in 1699) with the brightest of promises and had won honours under the very eyes of Aurangzib, as a lieutenant of Prince Bidār Bakht, during the strenuous warfare in the Marātha hills. Later, he rose to command supreme influence for a Hindu at the imperial Court and to hold the government of important

provinces like Agra and Mālwa But his later record was barren of glory or success, and he failed utterly when sent against the Marathas, as he too readily bowed to the inevitable and realised the futility of struggling against the youthful Maratha power with the moribund Delhi administration as his support After failing to keep out the Marātha invaders from Mālwa, and inducing the Emperor to make a complete surrender to them (1736), Jai Singh returned to his own State and gave himself up to sexual excess He had always been a deep drinker and now the habitual use of aphrodisiacs to stimulate his failing powers entirely ruined his health, till at last he died of a loathsome disease on 21st September, 1743 [*Vam Bh*, 3322]

The next king of Jaipur, Ishwari Singh (r 1743-1750), lacked his father's courage and cleverness, though he inherited most of his vices He was a weak-minded man, liable to sudden and capricious changes of opinion under the lead of rogues or fools The exceptional capacity and devotion of several hereditary officers of his house often saved his troops in battles where their chieftain's cowardice and incompetence would have ruined them

The ruler of Jodhpur, Mahārājah Rāj-Rājeshwar Abhay Singh, for such were his superlative titles, (r 1724—1749), had been solicited by the Emperor to take up the *subahdāri* of Gujrāt (1729) After a year spent at home in making preparations, he had reached Ahmadābād (October, 1730) and made his appointment good by defeating his refractory and dismissed predecessor Sarbuland Khān The spoils of this capaign were reported in the pardonable hyperbole of his Court poets as "four *kror* of Rupees and 1,400 guns of all calibres, besides military stores of every description" His bardic flatterers sang, 'Abhay Malla rules over the seventeen thousand towns of Gujrat and nine thousand elsewhere The princes of Idar, Bhuj Pārkar, Sind, Sirohi, Jesalmir, Jhunjhuno, Dongarpur and Nāgor every morning bowed the head to Abhay Malla." Though his governorship of Gujrat had ended ingloriously in two years in his surrender of *chauth* to the Marāthas and his return home with failure, such eulogies would have turned a stronger head than his He became insane with pride. "His ferocious courage was tempered

only by excessive indolence ... and his love of ease and opium increased with years. (Tod ii, Marwar, ch 11.)

His son and successor, Ram Singh (r. 1749–1751), "inherited the arrogance of his father with all the impetuosity of the Chauhāns" (of Sirohi, his mother's stock.) Utterly lacking in self-control, foresight and consideration of his own good, this youngman came to unbridled sovereign power at the age of nineteen, and very quickly alienated all his nobles and kinsfolk by the display of boundless pride, violence of temper and insolence of tongue.

## § 4. *First Maratha conquest of Malwa*

The Maratha penetration of the province of Malwa supplied them with a most convenient starting point for raids into Rājputāna. Indeed, the Rajput States though under Hindu rulers could not remain outside the sphere of Maratha aggression as, apart from their untapped wealth, their two greatest princes, Abhay Singh of Marwar and Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur were appointed by the Emperor governors of Gujrāt and Mālwa respectively and were bound in duty to oppose Marātha encroachments upon their charges.

Girdhar Bahadur, who was *subahdar* of Malwa from September 1722 to November 1728 (except for the two years 1723–1725, when he had to make room for the Nizām's nominee) was defeated and killed by Chimnājī the younger brother of the Peshwā Bajī Rāo, in the plain between Amjherā and Tirlā near Māndu on 29th November 1728.* His cousin Dayā Bahādur who commanded one wing of his forces, met with the same fate in another part of the same field.

Girdhar Bahadur's son Bhavanirām was next appointed by the Emperor as acting *subahdar* of Malwa, and for less than one

* When I edited W. Irvine's *Later Mughals* in 1920 I could give only conjectural dates for the death of Girdhar Bahādur and Dayā Bahādur and the governorship of Bhavani Ram (ii 243-249) because the Persian authorities are silent on the point. But the chronology and main features of the history of this period have been correctly established by the recent publication of the State papers of the Peshwas, *S P D* xii and xxii.

The subject has been fully discussed and the truth established by Dr. Raghubir Sinh in his *Malwa in Transition* (1936), ch. iv.

year (1729) battled manfully against increasing difficulties to hold his own. In November 1729 he was displaced in that office by Sawāi Jai Singh, who in his turn was superseded by Muhammad Khan Bangash, appointed on 19 September next year. In January 1731 Bangash reached Ujjain and took charge of the viceroyalty but he could effect nothing with his own resources which the Emperor did not supplement. His stay in his new post was short and he failed in his struggle with the Marāthas here as completely as he had failed in Bundelkhand in 1729. Next year he was replaced as governor by Sawāi Jai Singh, who started from his capital on 20th October 1732 and reached Ujjain in December.

But the Emperor's Mālwa viceroys, old and new, were equally unsuccessful against the Marāthas. Jai Singh received large sums (20 lakhs of Rupees) from his impoverished master on condition of raising an army and driving the Marāthas out of the province. But he only made a show of fighting and preferred the policy of buying them out for the time with a part of the money given him.* [*Ward.* 115-116.]

§ 5. *Jai Singh defeated by the Marathas in Malwa*

At the beginning of 1733, Malhar Rāo Holkar and Rānoji Sindhia, after finishing their work in Gujrāt by taking Champānir and provisioning Pāvāgarh, came on raid to Mālwa. Jai Singh was then at Māndesor. The Marātha generals, leaving their camp behind, advanced with a light force, hemmed the Rājah round and put his troops to great distress by cutting off their grain and water supply. Krishnāji Pawār and Udāji Pawār, out of jealousy for the Peshwa, had been tempted to join their forces with Jai Singh's. But Holkar plundered a part of Udāji's baggage, and mutual friends intervened, severely rebuked the Pawārs for their alliance with their nation's enemy and induced them to withdraw from the Mughal side. Jai Singh had to sue

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*Order by Rajah Shāhu, 18 March 1730, "Jai S. has come to the Ujjain province. Chimnaji, Udaji Pawar and Malhar Holkar are ordered to treat him with respect in view of the old hereditary friendship between the two royal families. Give him Māndu fort if he asks for it." [Vad. i. p. 95.]

for peace, offering six *lakhs* of Rupees to the Marāthas, but Holkar held out for more. While these negotiations were going on, the Rajput captains, emboldened by a rumour that the Emperor in person was marching from Delhi to Agra to support them, came forth to battle. The commander of Jai Singh's rear-guard was slain. On Holkar's side a hundred or two hundred horses and some fifteen high officers were killed, and he fell back about 30 miles, while Jai Singh advanced 16 miles. Then Holkar rapidly doubled back to Jai Singh's position. The Rājput prince had no more stomach for fighting left; he made peace by promising to pay six *lakhs* in cash and to cede 28 parganahs in lieu of *chauth*. This happened at the end of February. (*S. P. D.*, xiv. 2, xv. 6.) Jai Singh then returned to his capital Jaipur and passed his days there, regardless of what happened in Malwa, which was left in the incompetent hands of his officers.*

From April to December 1733, Bāji Rao was engaged in the war with the Siddis of Janjirā and the main Marātha forces were concentrated there. Pilāji Jādav planned to march into Hindustān at the end of this year, and skirting Narwar on his right, enter Kotā and Bundi territory and levy contribution there for a month or so, finally returning by way of Orchhā and Datiā, where the Marāthas had already established their hold. But the plan was modified; he was at Nimār at the end of December and then went to Bundelkhand where Holkar and Sindhia too were assembled. He next marched from Datiā to Gwālior, but finding the whole country desolate and thankful to get only Rs. 50 from a village where he could, he fell back on Narwar, where we find him on 8th April 1734. Finally Pilāji returned to the Deccan marching with Chanderi on his left hand. The Bundi expedition was undertaken by Holkar and Sindhia. (*S. P. D.*, xiv. 10, 11, 13.)

Gujrāt and Mālwa were practically lost to the Empire, but hitherto no Marātha had entered Rājputāna. Now, however,

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* Jai Singh's more engrossing cares were the decoration of his new capital and the construction of four astronomical observatories. For the latter purpose he summoned the Jesuit Father Boudier from Bengal in 1733 and Fathers Antoine Gabelsperguer and Andre Strobl from Germany in 1736 to Jaipur, paying their expenses. (Tieffenthaler, tr. by Bernoulli, i. 301; *S. P. D.*, xiii. 51; *Vams Bh.* 3212.)

the eternal domestic feuds of that unhappy land brought the Deccanis in, first as hired allies and finally as masters levying tribute and ravaging the country year after year We shall here trace the steps that led up to this

§ 6 *The dispute for the throne of Bundi*

Sawai Jai Singh, finding that his position and influence at the imperial Court were unrivalled by any other Hindu feudatory and daily witnessing the increasing weakness and incapacity of his suzerain, embarked on "a deeply cherished scheme" for imposing his supremacy over the minor Rājahs He determined to seize upon all the districts on his frontiers within his grasp He occupied the fort of Bundi with his own troops during its ruler Budh Singh's absence and secured from the Emperor an edict transferring that State to Dalil Singh (the second son of Sālim Singh Hādā of Karwar), on condition of his acknowledging the house of Jaipur as his overlord. (c Sept 1729) Budh Singh survived his fall for ten years (dying on 26 April 1739), and though his excessive consumption of wine and opium joined to the disappointments and hardships of his lot, soon deranged his never very sane mind, he for the rest of his life and his exceptionally gallant and able son Ummed Singh after him, gave the usurper no rest till at last Ummed Singh entered the capital of his ancestors and was crowned king of Bundi (23rd October 1748): but his heritage continued even thereafter to be disturbed by internal enemies and fleeced by the Marāthas. [Tod ii *Harāvati*, Ch 3 *Vamsha Bh*, 3542, 3285 ]

Jai Singh, the sole prop of the usurper of Bundi, having left his home for Mālwa towards the end of 1729, Budh Singh advanced to recover his lost city. But Jaipur troops quickly arrived to the aid of Sālim, who was holding Bundi for his young son Dalil. This huge host scared away most of the supporters of Budh Singh, so that he counselled his followers not to fight But some of his devoted tenants would not listen to him, they attacked the Jaipur force and were defeated, at Kusalath, 6th April 1730 Dalil Singh, thus freed from rivalry, was crowned on 19th May and married to a daughter of Jai Singh [*Vamsha Bh.* p. 3147 ]

## § 7. First Maratha invasion of Rajputana

The defeated Budh Singh took refuge in Udaipur and then at Begham and sank deeper and deeper into wine and opium, finally turning mad. But he found an unexpected ally. Pratāp Singh Hāda, the eldest son of Sālim Singh, on seeing his younger brother Dalil raised to the throne of Bundi came over to Budh Singh's side out of wounded pride and fought against his own father and brother. He was now sent to the Deccan by Budh Singh's queen with her money for hiring Marātha aid against Dalil Singh. The price was settled at six *lakhs* of Rupees. On 22nd April 1734, the day of a solar eclipse, Malhar Rao Holkar and Rānoji Sindhia, guided by Pratāp Singh, attacked Bundi which was being held by Salim Singh the regent. In the end the fort was captured and Salim Singh was carried away as prisoner by the Marathas. The queen of Budh Singh tied the *rakhi* thread round the wrist of Malhar, publicly declaring the goat-herd's son the brother of a princess of the solar line that claimed descent from the god Rāmchandra. But as soon as Malhar had left, a Jaipur force, 20,000 strong, came and restored Dalil Singh at Bundi. [*Vam. Bh.* 3216-3220.]

This first Marātha penetration into Rājputāna had opened the eyes of the more thoughtful among the princes to their perilous condition. The terror of it continued to be remembered for long afterwards.* In the second half of October 1734, Jai Singh called a conference of all the Rājahs of Rājasthān at Hurdā near Agunch (a village in Mewār) to concert measures for keeping the Deccani spoliators out of their fatherland. That end could be reached only by a close co-operation with the imperial troops sent against the same enemies. But nothing came of the meeting. Indeed, the moral decay of the Mughal nobility made a vigorous and united policy of defence against the Marāthas impossible. [*Vam. Bh.* 3227.]

## § 8. Imperial campaigns in Malwa and Rajputana, 1734-35 fail

In October 1734, the imperial Court planned a grand campaign under its two highest officers, the *wazir* Qamruddin

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* Tod, i. Mewar, Ch. 15.

and the *bakhshi* Khān-i-Daurān, to expel the Marāthas from Mālwa and Rājputāna Next month the wazir started from Delhi, at the head of 25,000 men *via* Agra for Bundelkhand where Pilāji Jādav was roving Two or three light engagements took place between them in February 1735 as the result of which Pilāji retreated to Sipri and Kulāras, while the wazir stayed at Narwar, 24 miles north of the enemy's position After a few more skirmishes, Pilāji withdrew his baggage from Bundelkhand and set out for the Deccan by the Chānda and Deogarh route (April) The wazir returned to Delhi, arriving there on 9th May, 1735 [*S P D*, xiv 22, 21]

The campaign in the western theatre had been entrusted to Khan-i-Daurān He set out from Delhi at the same time as the *wazir* and on the way to Ajmir was joined by Jai Singh of Jaipur, Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, and Rao Durjan Sāl of Kotā with their contingents In this way his force became a vast host (whose number was swelled by rumour to two hundred thousand men) with artillery and munition carts "beyond count" Crossing the Mukundarā pass, the imperial army reached Rampurā territory, where Holkar and Sindhia were sighted (early in February) Its unwieldy size, composite character and slack organisation foredoomed it to failure against the Marātha light horse led by born cavalry generals like Malhar and Rānoji For eight days the Marāthas circled round Khān-i-Daurān, absolutely immobilising his army, cutting off its provisions and fodder, and capturing horses and camels from it Then the Marāthas made a lightning raid Leaving the *bakhshi* and his allies there, they crossed the Mukundarā pass, went to Bundi-Kotā and thence into the now defenceless Jaipur and Jodhpur territories, the imperialists painfully toiling up far behind them Finding the field clear, Malhar raided many places in this region The loot of the rich city of Sambhar, then under the Emperor's direct administration, on 28th February, yielded him a rich harvest The *faujdār* Fakhru was robbed of everything he possessed (worth three *lakhs* of Rupees, besides 3 or 4 elephants) and let off with only the clothes he stood in The *qazi* of the city, after slaying his women in the Hindu manner of *jauhar*, fought the invaders with frenzy, and fell down wounded Early in March, the position of the two sides was this: Khān-i-Daurān had

taken post at Kota, Jai Singh near his capital, and Malhar and Ranoji some 20 miles from the latter (*Siyar* ii 83, *S P D* xiv 23 21 Rustam Ali in Elliot viii 51.)

Thus in both the theatres of war, the armies of the empire failed to achieve any decisive result and were, indeed, hard put to it to defend and feed their unwieldy numbers. The smaller Marātha forces had completely rendered them immobile and powerless. At last, the *wazir* offered a bribe of five *lakhs* to Pilaji for vacating Mālwa. In Rājputāna, Khān-i-Daurān, after wasting many weeks at Bundi in utter inaction, listened to Jai Singh's advice and induced the Marāthas to retire beyond the Narmadā by promising them on behalf of the Emperor 22 lakhs as the *chauth* of Mālwa. This understanding was effected on 22nd March at a meeting between Khān-i-Daurān and the two Marātha generals through the mediation of Jai Singh, the camps of Khān-i-Dauran and Jai Singh being then at Kotā and that of the Marāthas at Bundi.*

From this inglorious campaign the two heads of the Mughal army returned to Delhi at the end of April, 1735. The Marātha generals retired, Rānoji to Ujjain, Malhar to Kālābāgh, and Pilāji to Sironj (June.) (*S P D*, xiv 29.)

## § 9 *North-Indian pilgrimage of Peshwa's mother, 1735.*

In the meantime, this armed clash with the empire had come at an inopportune moment for the Peshwā. He had arranged for a complete North Indian pilgrimage for his mother Rādhā Bāi. She crossed the Tāpti at Burhānpur on 9th March 1735, in charge of the astrologer, Bābuji Nāyak Joshi, who had lived long in Benares and was familiar with North Indian shrines. Everywhere she was supplied with escort by the officers of the

* *S.P.D.* xiv 27, 23, xxii 284. The later negotiations on this point will be described afterwards. *S P D* xiv 31, 47.

In April 1735 Holkar and Sindhia invaded Mārwār, under orders of Bāji Rāo in order to punish Abhay Singh for his recent hostile action. Their orders were to spare the territories of Jaipur and Mewār with scrupulous care. Indeed, the ravaging of Abhay Singh's kingdom would only please Jai Singh, as Bāji Rāo wrote to his master. (*S.P.D.*, xiii 49.) xiv 14 probably belongs to the March of this year.

imperial Government and the local chiefs while the Rājput Rājahs whose capitals she visited treated her with the high respect due to a noble Brāhman widow and the mother of an all-conquering son. They personally welcomed her, introduced her to their queens, and gave her rich presents. Travelling in this way, Radha Bāi visited Udaipur (6th May), Nāthdwārā, Jaipur (c. 16 July), Mathurā, Kurukshetra, Allahabad, Benāres and Gaya (November), then back again to Benāres, whence she turned to Bundelkhand in January 1736 and finally reached Punā on 2 May. (*S. P. D.*, ix. 12, 13, 14, xiv. 21, 31, 39, 51, xxii. 330; *Vamsha Bh.* p. 3223.)

§ 10. *How Jai Singh promoted Maratha interests in Hindustan.*

When the vast armament and heavy expenditure of the imperial campaign in the first quarter of 1735 not only failed to crush the Marāthas but ended only with an obligation to pay a huge contribution of *22 lakhs*, the Emperor was naturally angry at this disgraceful result. His Court threw the blame for it on Jai Singh as the officer most directly concerned from his office of *subahdār* of Agra and Mālwa, and on Khān-i-Daurān, his ally and constant supporter at Court. Sādat Khān, the governor of Oudh, told the Emperor, 'Jai Singh has ruined the entire empire by his secret support of the Marāthas. Give me only the governorship of Agra and Mālwa, I do not ask for any money aid. Jai Singh has asked for a *kror* of Rupees to equip his army for this war, but I have enough treasure of my own. The Nizām is my friend, he will hinder the Marāthas from crossing the Narmadā." Sarbuland Khān equally denounced Jai Singh.

The Emperor censured Jai Singh and Khān-i-Daurān for having bought the Marathas off. The Khān pleaded, "I only promised the Marātha generals who had entered Mālwa that they would be given as *jāgir* those parganahs of the province which were in the hands of the refractory Ruhelas and other brigands, but that they should never trouble any district under the Emperor's (rule.) Bāji Rāo is obedient to your Majesty in every way. See how he has brought his family to Northern India on the plea of bathing in the Ganges. His mother also has come here on pilgrimage . . . The Marāthas cannot be effectually subdued by

fighting. But by friendly negotiations I shall induce Bāji Rāo, at least his brother Chimnāji, to come and meet the Emperor. If his desires are granted, the imperial dominions will be freed from disturbance in future. If, on the other hand, Sādat Khān and the Nizām unite they will set up another Emperor." (*S. P. D.*, xiv. 47, 39, 31.)

This talk of removing him from his two viceroyalties reached Jai Singh's ears and positively antagonised him towards the Emperor. A selfish opportunist, he never had much loyalty to the throne. Calling the Marātha agent at his Court to a secret council, he told him, "I have hitherto guarded the prestige and interests of Bāji Rāo because I cannot trust the Turks (*i.e.*, the Mughal royal house). If the latter triumph over the Deccani forces they will disregard us. Therefore, in every matter I shall follow the Peshwā's behest." He then (August 1735) sent a proposal to Bāji Rāo to come to him at the head of 5,000 horse, taking care not to plunder any place on the way. Jai Singh would pay the daily expenses of this force (Rs. 5,000) in addition to the *chauth* of Mālwa and the rent of Pilāji Jadav's *jāgir*,—a total of 20 *lakhs* in cash. After the Peshwā's arrival in Jaipur, Jai Singh would take counsel with him on the situation, secure assurances and oaths of safe-conduct from the Emperor through Khān-i-Daurān and then take the Peshwā to interview the Emperor. Otherwise, the Peshwā would return home from Jai Singh's country. (*S. P. D.* xiv. 47.)

On the other side, at the end of September the Emperor formed his plan of operations against the Marāthas during the coming winter. He first reconciled Abhay Singh to the *wazir*. Agra, Mālwa, and even Gujrat were proposed to be put in charge of the *wazir*, with orders not to molest Jai Singh's territory if he loyally joined the Emperor's cause with his own contingent; otherwise he was to be chastised as he deserved. It was decided that as soon as the river levels would fall sufficiently low in autumn the Emperor himself would march out of Delhi, while Jai Singh and Khān-i-Daurān would proceed to the Deccan *via* Jaipur, and the *wazir* with Abhay Singh and Sādat Khān would take the route *via* Gwālior. (*S. P. D.*, xiv. 39.)

§ 11. *Bāji Rāo's visit to Rajputana, 1736.*

The agreement of 22nd March 1735 not having been ratified by the Emperor, Bāji Rāo planned a grand campaign in the north under his own command in the coming winter He started from Puna on 9th October The light forayers of Holkar in 1734 and 1735 had created terror throughout Rājputāna and given the people a close acquaintance with Marātha rapacity at their very doors The failure of the entire force of the empire, led by the two highest officers of the State in the first quarter of 1735 had taught the Indian world to believe that the Marāthas were invincible and that no protection was to be looked for either from Delhi or from their own chiefs The news of the coming of the dread master of the Marātha generals threw all Rājputana into alarm and despair * But Bāji Rāo's object was to visit the Rājput Courts personally and impose *chauth* by peaceful persuasion if possible.

After taking a fort named Kukshi on the Gujrat frontier of Dhār, the Peshwā advanced north through Dongarpur and Lonwādā, arriving at the southern frontier of Mewār (c 15 January, 1736 ) The Mahārānā Jagat Singh II made every arrangement for giving him a worthy reception The ceremonial of the meeting was thus settled · the Mahārānā was to make a bow (*pranām*) to the Peshwā as a Brāhman, the holiest of all Hindu castes, while the latter as a priest was to bless the temporal ruler Arrived near Udaipur, Bāji Rāo was lodged in the Champā-bāgh garden in the village of Ahar, and received a purse of Rs 5,000, robes, horses and an elephant as welcome-gift to a guest Next day a grand *darbār* was held by the Mahārānā, to which the Peshwā was called Two cushions had been laid down side by side, the Mahārānā advanced to the door of the hall, welcomed the Peshwā, and led him to the cushion meant for him, but Bāji Rāo respectfully sat down below it on the floor, on a lower level than the Mahārānā. He waved the *chāmar* (fly whisker) over the Rājput's head, who protested saying, "*You* should be adored by us, being a Brāhman;" but Bāji Rāo diplomatically replied, "I

* Tod, i Mewar, Ch. 15, Maharana's letter to Biharidas Pancholi.

claim you alone as king, for you have sixteen chiefs (*umrao*) under you."*

Then he proceeded to business. After long haggling, the Mahārānā had to sign a treaty promising to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000, to cover which the Banhādā pargana was ceded to the Marāthas. This amount was divided into three equal shares, assigned to Holkar, Sindhia and Pawār. The management was at first entrusted to Holkar, but subsequently Sindhia acted as the receiver-general. This treaty remained in force for ten years, after which it became a nullity. (Tod, i. Mewar Ch. 15.)

There was a breach while these negotiations were pending. The Mahārānā invited Bāji Rāo to visit his Jagmandir palace in the midst of the Picholā lake. Bāji Rāo took this to be a trap for murdering him, flew into a rage, and could be pacified only by the Mewar ministers agreeing to pay a fine of seven *lakhs*! Three *lakhs* out of this sum was paid in cash to Bāji Rāo, under the name of "gift of gold to a Brāhman at a funeral", out of the property of the Mahārānā's grandmother, who had recently died. Bāji Rāo visited the island-palace on 4th February. [Peshwa Daftar *Roz-kird*.]

Matters having been thus settled in Mewār, Bāji Rao advanced north towards Jaipur, making a pilgrimage to Nathdwārā (25 miles north of Udaipur) on the way. Thence he marched to Jahāzpur (25 miles north-west of Bundi.) Jai Singh had hastened southwards with all his forces to meet him on the way. Their interview took place at the village of Bhambholāo,* 17 miles s.e. of Kishangarh. Jai Singh had asked from the Peshwā equality of honour with the Mahārānā, but Bāji Rāo told him that the lord of Udaipur was equal in status with his own king Shāhu as he had never owned the Muslim Pādishāh as master, while Jai Singh was a mere imperial *mansabdār*. A

* A friend advised Bāji Rāo not to be too grasping in his dealings with the Maharana, adding, "You need not go to an extreme in your demands on the Ranaji. Act so as to keep him satisfied. You cannot grasp the whole world in one day." (*S.P.D.* xiv. 54.) *Vamsha Bh.*, 3236-8, gives these details as well as those in the next two paragraphs. In Sanskrit a *Chakravarti* or Sovereign is defined as a king ruling over a circle of twelve sub-kings. *S.P.D.* xiv. 50, 51.

* *Bhamola*, 30m. due east of Ajmir city. (*Indian Atlas*, 34 *N.E.* sheet.)

pavilion was pitched in the middle for the meeting while the two armies stood fully armed on the two sides, (c 15 February). The two chiefs descended from their elephants, embraced, and sat down on the same cushion, the Peshwa on the right and Jai Singh on the left Bāji Rāo, in spite of his being a priest by caste and the prime minister of the greatest Hindu Rājah in India, had the manners of a moss-trooper, which had been anything but improved by his infatuation for Mastāni, a Muslim girl with the morals of a *vivandière* He puffed at his pipe, blowing the smoke in the face of his host Now, the Jaipur Rājah, though a Rājput, was a man of refined taste, and had consorted with scholarly Europeans He did not enjoy this rough horseplay of the Deccani, but was powerless to check it The Marātha captains were presented to Jai Singh one by one, only Malhar Holkar sulked in his tent, as Bāji Rāo did not now ask Jai Singh to restore Bundi to Budh Singh, although they had promised to Rājah Shāhu to do so when Pratāp Singh Hādā was at Satārā begging Marātha aid for him

Then Jai Singh went back to his capital, telling Bāji Rāo that it was better for him to return to the Deccan as the time was not favourable for his intended attack on Delhi, he might come next year with better preparations In the meantime, Jai Singh promised to use his influence at the imperial Court to secure for Rājah Shāhu the grant of *chauth* and the cession of Mālwa from the Emperor From this point, Bāji Rāo retraced his steps to the Deccan, halting on the way at Begham (25 miles n e of Chitor), where he paid a visit to the dispossessed Budh Singh, in the company of Malhar and Pratāp Hādā, and spoke a few kind words to soothe his feelings (*Vamsha Bh*, 3238—3240, *S P D*, xiv 52, 56, xxii 331, 333)

§ 12 *Imperialists open peace negotiations with Baji Rao, 1736.*

In the meantime, while Bāji Rāo was still in Mewār (January), his agent Mahādev Bhat Hingané went to Jaipur and was introduced by the minister Ayā Mal (Rājāmal) to Jai Singh, who agreed to present the Peshwā with five *lakhs*,—two *lakhs* in cash and the balance in costly robes, jewellery, five horses and one elephant. The Rājah sent a message to Bāji Rāo inviting

him to his dominions and promising to introduce him to the Emperor and arrange a lasting peace between the Mughal Government and the Marātha, by securing for the latter the grant of 20 *lakhs* in cash and a *jagir* worth 40 *lakhs* a year in Mālwa, the subsidy being assigned on Dost Muhammad Khān of Bhopāl. With this offer, Ayā Mal went to Bāji Rāo's camp. Another Marātha wakil, Dādāji Pant, attended the camp of Khān-i-Daurān, negotiating through the medium of Rānoji Sindhia and Ramchandra Bābā Shenvi. The Bakhshi sent Nejābat Ali Khān from his side with money to Bāji Rāo. (*S. P. D.*, xiv. 50, 51.)

In short, as Bāji Rāo wrote to his mother, the Emperor and his councillors were eager to make friends with him. He himself had no armed conflict anywhere. A state of war had existed between his generals and the imperial officers (especially Muhammad Khān Bangash) in the country south of Dholpur. But as soon as peace overtures were received from Delhi through Jai Singh, Bāji Rāo sent out orders (7th Feb.) to his officers to suspend hostilities. The Marātha detachment in Jodhpur territory* was recalled. Khān-i-Daurān at first proposed to come from Delhi and meet the Peshwā, but he did not do so, and the negotiations were opened on behalf of the Emperor by Yādgār Kashmiri, Kripā Rām and Nejābat Ali Khān, who left Delhi on 8 March. Bāji Rāo next went into Ahirwādi (north-east of

* Malhar and Rānoji marched to Merta, guided by Pratāp S. Hādā. Pratap at first visited Ummed Singh Sisodia of Shāhpurā (acting as Abhay Singh's agent) and the *bhāndāri* (Marwar minister) within the city and discussed terms with them. But no ransom having been agreed upon, Pratap returned to the Maratha camp and hostilities were begun. On the first day the Marathas captured the town, which was totally deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the fort. Then siege was laid to the fort and trenches carried towards its walls. The garrison made repeated sorties on the trenches, each side losing some officers of note in the encounters. The Marathas were bombarded from the fort walls and driven out of the outermost trench of the defenders which they had occupied after the retirement of the Rajputs from it. Heavy exchange of fire went on from day to day. [*S.P.D.*, xiv. 14. This letter was written by Malhar and Ranoji from their camp before Merta, to the Peshwa, and is dated by the editor, in a correction, 1st April 1736. But as Sambhar was sacked on 28 Feb. 1735, that year is more likely for this letter, and the date should be 12th April 1735; but the day of the week given in the latter agrees only with 1734.]

Sironj), sending his agent Bābu Rāo to Delhi, on whose return with a reply from the imperial Court the Peshwā set out for the Deccan (end of April, 1736) (*S P D*, xiv 51, 56, 58, 52, *Siyar*, ii. 84; *Later Mughals*, ii 284)

§ 13. *Campaign of early 1736, imperialists defeated*

We shall here briefly survey the campaign in the three theatres, Mālwa, Bundelkhand and Eastern Rājputānā, which were ended early by these peace talks At the end of November 1735, the Peshwā sent from the bank of the Narmadā a detachment to invade Malwa and Bundelkhand, while he himself proceeded to Mewar Muhammad Khān Bangash, the *subahdār* of Allahabad, was ordered to proceed to the defence of Mālwa The fort of Gwālior successfully held out under a contingent of Pathāns sent by him Leaving that fort untaken, a Maratha division under Bāji Bhimrāo Jādav proceeded to Nurābād, 15 miles north of it, and made it their base for some weeks, and advancing still further reached Sylhā, 7 miles n w of Nurābād and only four or five miles from the Chambal river

In the meantime, Muhammad Khān Bangash had reached Dholpur on 14th January 1736 and taken post in the ravines of the Chambal, guarding every ford against the invaders The Marātha leaders halted at Sylhā for about ten days, daily sending out cavalry patrols to the river to watch for Muhammad Khān But in fear of the Marāthas, "he would not once come out of his hole in the sands of the river," and there could be no fight with him Bāji Bhimrāo then surprised and sacked the village of Bāgohini (11 miles w of Sylhā), the stronghold of a robber chieftain (clan Sikarbār) Thus the whole month of January and the earlier part of February were passed in inaction on the Mughal side, after which envoys came from the Bangash for terms and finally hostilities were suspended by order of the Peshwā (received by Bhimrāo on 1st March) as the Delhi Court had inclined towards peace Then the invaders withdrew from Mālwa (March 1736). In May, at the suggestion of Jai Singh, the Emperor appointed Baji Rao deputy governor of Malwa, with the Kachhwa Raja as the nominal subahdār. The Peshwā now occupied the province by posting an army there during the rainy season of 1736 (*S P D*, xiv 55, 56, 62 xiii. 48 xxii. 331.)

In Bundelkhand, the wazir's division advanced by way of Narwar to the Arjal lake, 12 miles east of Orchhā, where he entrenched and faced the invaders during the Ramzan month of fasting (January, 1736). There were frequent skirmishes between the patrols. At last on 3rd February, the Marāthas delivered an attack, but after an all-day battle they fell back at night and made a rapid retreat to the Deccan, the Mughals following in search of them, but at a great distance behind, up to Ujjain. (*Lat. Mug.* ii. 282-283.)*

In the western theatre, Khān-i-Daurān was sent to expel the Marāthas from Rājputānā. Joined by Jai Singh, he prepared a strongly entrenched position at Todā Tonk facing Malhar and his ally Pratāp Hādā. The imperialists were here immobilised for many weeks, and one day a foraging party from their camp, 1,500 strong, was almost totally cut off. Then in February the peace negotiations put an end to the operations,† the Marāthas went away and the two Mughal generals were liberated. (*Later Mughals* ii. 283-284.)

## § 14. *Baji Rao invades Northern India, 1737-38.*

No real settlement could be effected through the peace-negotiations conducted by Jai Singh as mediator. He induced the Emperor to appoint Baji Rāo as deputy governor of Malwa, with Jai Singh himself as the nominal *subahdār*. "This was, in effect, though not in form, a cession of the province. As to the other concessions the only one agreed to was the hereditary appointment (of Rājah Shāhu) as *sardeshpāndya* in the six provinces of Mughal Deccan, ... the rate of payment was five per cent. of the revenue." This did not satisfy the Marathas,

* This Bundelkhand campaign is on the sole authority of Ashub i. 357-362, but the Maratha sources are silent. Ashub, who wrote in 1784, has confused the year as Dr. R. Sinh suggests.

† Irvine's statement (ii. 284) that Jai Singh and Bāji Rāo met at Dholpur on 8th Rabi I. 1149 (6 July 1736 O.S.) is impossible as we know from the Peshwā's records (*S.P.D.* xxii. 333) that he re-entered Puna on 24th June 1736. Here Irvine's Persian authorities have made a confusion of years. A Peshwā did meet Jai Singh on 8th Rabi I, but it was in the year 1154 (=13 May 1741) and the Peshwā was Bālāji Rao. (*S.P.D.* xxi. 2.)

and responding to Jai Singh's secret invitation Bāji Rāo issued from Punā on 12th November, 1736, to carry the war to the gates of Delhi (*Vam. Bh.* 240, *S P D*, xxii 341 *Lat Mugh.* ii 284.)

Bāji Rāo's North Indian campaign of 1737—the most famous of his many famous achievements—has been treated in full detail drawn from Persian sources, by W Irvine in his *Later Mughals* (ii 268—306) as edited by me I need not, therefore describe here his invasion of Bhadaur and capture of Ater the short raid into the lower *Doab* by his detachment under Malhar Holkar and some other generals and their defeat by Sa'ādat Khan of Oudh at Jalesar* on 13th March—which according to the Marāthā despatches was greatly exaggerated by the imperialists, Bāji Rao's cavalry dash upon the environs of Delhi and sack of Kālkā-devi (30th March) the terror of the capital and Court, the rout of the imperialists at Tāl Katorā, the *wazir's* victory at Bādshāhpur (31st March), the sudden retreat of Bāji Rāo to Rājputānā, the coming of the Nizām to the Emperor's aid (2nd July), his fight with Bāji Rāo near Bhopāl (December), and the humiliating treaty made by him with the Marāthas at Dorāha.

This expedition did not affect Rājputānā except that while Bāji Rāo was investing the Nizām at Bhopāl in December 1737 Safdar Jang and Mahārāo Durjan Sāl Hādā of Kotā, marching to the relief of the Nizām were intercepted and defeated by Malhar Holkar and Jaswant Pawār For his unfriendly act the Mahārao now felt the heavy hand of the Marāthas After the Nizām had

* At the battle of Jalesar, the Muslim sources claimed large numbers of Marathas killed many more drowned in recrossing the Jamunā, and 1500 men including notable *sardārs* taken prisoners [Ashub i 378] The Maratha letters (S P D xxx 198 and 366) put the casualties at from 1000 to 1500 men killed and wounded on the two sides taken together I believe that many of Holkars' Pindharis lost their lives in the Jamuna in their panic flight, because the Maratha detachment was admittedly off its guard, and the attack was a surprise, Holkar alone making a stand with such horsemen as could be hurriedly got together

*Treaty* with the Nizām, made on 6th January 1738, promising to grant to Baji Rao (1) the whole of Malwa, (2) the complete sovereignity of the territory between the Narmadā and the Chambal, (3) to obtain confirmation thereof from the Emperor, and (4) to use his best endeavours to obtain 50 lakhs of Rupees to pay Bāji Rao's expenses

made terms and retreated to Delhi, Bāji Rāo with Malhar Holkar and Jaswant Pawār marched from Bhopāl to Kotā, laid siege to the fort, and "utterly devastated that district by plunder", (January 1738) Durjan Sāl fled to fort Gangroni and made peace by promising to pay a fine of ten *lakhs* Eight *lakhs* were paid down (by 10 Feb) and a bond was signed for the remaining two *lakhs* *

Throughout the year 1737 a severe famine due to shortage of rainfall desolated Bundelkhand and north-eastern Malwa up to the Jamuna bank The water-sources on the way dried up and no food for man or horse could be had anywhere in this vast tract before a new crop was grown Next year, 1738, the famine spread to the Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar districts in the Deccan A new calamity, surpassing the horrors of famine, soon afterwards descended on the doomed land [*S P D*, xiv 52 xv 8 and 63 ]

Towards the close of this year, 1738, the Indian sky began to be overcast by the shadow of Nādir Shāh's coming, and there were no organised raids of the Marāthas into Mālwa and Rājputānā in the winter of 1738-39 Nādir's invasion shook the Delhi empire to its foundations, and after his return there was no more attempt to restore imperial authority in Mālwa

## § 15. *How imperial negotiations with Baji Rao broke down*

When the imperial officers made overtures for peace during the campaign of 1735, Bāji Rāo wrote to the Emperor making the following demands

(1) The grant of the *subahdāri* of Mālwa and its entire territory excluding its forts held directly of the Emperor, and the lands of *jāgirdārs*, old feudatories, and grantees of rent-free lands and daily allowances

(2) A cash contribution of 13 *lakhs* of Rupees to the Peshwā for his war expenses of the first year, to be paid in three instalments, namely 4 *lakhs* when Pilaji Jādav comes to the imperial

* *Later Mughals*, ii 304 *S P.D*, XV 68 xxii 120 For more than a year afterwards this balance remained unpaid *Vam Bh.*, 3249, says that Kotā was bombarded for 40 days at the end of which this contribution was promised

Court and settles the treaty, 5 *lakhs* at the autumn harvest, and 4 *lakhs* at the spring harvest

(3) The *nazar* of 6 *lakhs* of Rupees which King Shāhu had agreed to pay to the Emperor in return for the grant of the *sardesh-pāndya* rights of the six imperial provinces in the Deccan, was to be paid one-fourth down, and the remaining three-quarters by instalments after Shāhu had actually brought the country under his control.

In addition, Bābu Rāo, the special Marātha envoy sent to Delhi, asked for a grant of 2 *lakhs* of Rupees as reward to Chimnāji (the Peshwā's brother) for having been "a devoted servant of this Government and persuaded Bāji Rāo in many ways to accept the policy of furthering the Emperor's interests" This amount was to be paid, one-half on Pilāji's arrival at Delhi and the other half at the spring harvest after the agreement had been concluded Against each of the above demands the Emperor wrote "Granted" (*manzur*)

But every such concession was taken by Bāji Rāo as a sign of weakness At the increasing evidence of the helplessness of the Delhi Government in each successive season, Bāji Rāo rose in his demands, till at last he claimed

(1) The expulsion of Yār Muhammad Khān from Bhopāl with the aid of the imperial forces and the bestowal of his estate on Bāji Rāo

(2) A *jāgir* of 50 *lakhs* a year in the 6 Deccan *subahs* to the Peshwā, (the Emperor's son being appointed the absentee *subahdār* of that country) In addition, Bāji Rāo was to get half the revenue that might be collected for the Emperor through his exertions in the Deccan

(3) The entire Tanjore kingdom to Rājah Shāhu

(4) Forts Māndu, Dhār, and Rāisin in Mālwa to the Peshwā for keeping his family in.

(5) The entire country northwards up to the Chambal river to be granted in *jāgir* to the Peshwā, he promising not to molest the lands of the Rājahs of this region if they submitted and paid their tributes

(6) The imperial feudatories in Mālwa and Bundelkhand were to pay Bāji Rāo contributions totalling 10 *lakhs* and 5 thousand Rupees.

(7) All arrangements in the Deccan must be made only through the medium of the Peshwa.

(8) A prompt order on the Bengal *subahdār* to pay 50 *lakhs* to Bāji Rāo, who was very much involved in debt.

(9) The granting of *jāgirs* to the Peshwā at Allahabad, Benāres, Gayā, and Mathurā, (so that he might hold the greatest pilgrim centres of the Hindus.)

(10) For his personal visit to the Emperor, Bāji Rāo would first go to Agra, whence he would be conducted by Amir Khan and Jai Singh to Delhi and presented to the Emperor during a ride (and not at a *darbār*), and soon afterwards given leave to return home.

(11) Fifteen *lakhs* of Rupees to be paid to Bāji Rāo thus: five *lakhs* when he would reach Mālwa, five when he visited the Emperor, and five at the end of the year.

On 29th September 1736, Muhammad Shāh issued an imperial *farmān* bestowing on Bāji Rāo some *jāgirs*, a *mansab* (seven-*hazāri* personal rank), the *mahals* of his *watan* (home estate) and right to perquisites, as well as a robe of honour made up of seven pieces, an aigrette (*jigha*) for the turban, and an ornament (*sarpech*) to be tied round the head,—bidding him serve the empire as a loyal officer. He was also invited to visit the Emperor in person like other imperial vassals and servants.

## § 16. *Malwa ceded to Balaji Rao in 1741*

But Bāji Rāo's insatiable ambition made the conclusion of peace impossible. The Emperor naturally refused to grant his exorbitant new demands. Thus, the dispute with the Delhi Government remained unsettled during the rest of Bāji Rāo's life. On his death (28th April 1740), his eldest son Bālāji Rāo succeeded as Peshwā, after defeating the intrigues of Raghuji Bhonsle to keep him out of that office. The new Peshwa's diplomacy and tact (seconded, it must be confessed, by the utter disintegration of the imperial Government through Nādir's invasion) succeeded where the blustering tactics of his father had failed. Bālāji set out for the north in March 1741 and reached Gwālior. Jai Singh, the *subahdār* of Agra, reported to the Emperor that the captains under him were quite inexperienced in Deccani warfare and therefore force would fail. He then sent

envoys to open peace negotiations with Balaji Rão telling him to remain contented with the *subahs* of Gujrāt and Malwa and not to disturb any other province The Peshwā replied that though the *chauth* of the whole of Hindustān was his due, he would be satisfied with the above two *subahs*, provided that an imperial rescript was issued legally conferring them on him At the same time, to save the Emperor's face, a petition was submitted by Bālāji, professing his loyalty to the throne and declaring himself a devoted servant of the Emperor Following Jai Singh's advice, Muhammad Shāh in reply issued a *farmān*, dated 4th July 1741, bestowing the deputy governorship (*naib subahdāri*) of Mālwa on the Peshwā This was another device for disguising the fulness of the imperial surrender and saving the Emperor's face (*Chahār Gulzār* 376a-377a, *S P D*, xv 86)

Bālāji Rao visited Jai Singh near Dholpur on 12th May, the latter returned the visit on the 15th, and the Peshwā started on his return home on the 20th Early in July the arrival of the above *farmān* confirmed the peace * (*S P D* xxi 2)

Mālwa thus ceased to be a part of the empire of Delhi

* Bālaji Rāo on his part gave the following written undertakings — (1) To visit the Emperor (2) No Marātha was to cross the Narmadā, if any one did it the Peshwā held himself responsible for his acts (3) Not to disturb any province except Mālwa (4) Not to ask ever in future for any money above what was granted already (5) One Marātha general at the head of 500 horse was to serve constantly in the Emperor's army (6) When the imperialists issued on any campaign, the Peshwā would join them with 4,000 men If the Emperor asked for the aid of more men, these additional troops were to be paid their subsistence by the Delhi Government (*S P D*, xv page 97)

## CHAPTER VII.

### RAJPUTANA, 1741—1751

#### § 1 *Battle of Gangwana, 1741, Last days of Jai Singh*

The invasion of Nādir Shah dealt such a shattering blow to the Empire of Delhi that after it the imperial authority was eliminated from Rājputana in all but the name The Rājput princes were left entirely to themselves, to wrangle and fight within the confines of their own country, with the result of establishing a new master, the Marāthas, as the arbiter of their destinies This change was rendered easier because in the course of the next eleven years all the last Rājput princes who had counted for anything in imperial politics were removed from the scene,—Sawāi Jai Singh in 1743, Abhay Singh in 1749, and Ishwari Singh in 1750 The smaller men who succeeded them and who could not look up to any great suzerain for support, were naturally powerless to make a stand against the Marathas

Maharajah Abhay Singh of Jodhpur became in his later years intoxicated with pride from his defeat of Sarbuland Khan and accumulation of riches in the *subah* of Gujrāt of which he was viceroy The Rajah of Bikānir, representing a smaller but independent branch of the Rāthor clan, was nominally subordinate to the Maharajah of Mārwār as the head of his clan Abhay Singh declared war on him for some slight offence and led an army to besiege his capital. Bakht Singh, the younger brother of Abhay Singh, ever on the watch for an opportunity to overthrow his brother, induced Jai Singh of Jaipur to champion the cause of Bikānir. Jai Singh in his cups sent a threatening letter to Abhay Singh, bidding him raise the siege, and the latter replied with defiance saying that it was a purely domestic quarrel between two Rāthor families and no business of the Kachhwā chieftain War followed between the two States, and Jai Singh hastened from Agra to the defence of his own realm, because Bakht Singh had suddenly changed his policy out of rgeard for the honour of his own clan and made a raid into Jaipur territory, plundering many villages. A levee *en masse* of Jaipur vassals and allies, including the Hādās, Jādavs of Karāuli,

Sisodias of Shāhpurā, Khichi Chauhāns and Jāts, as well as three Muslim generals who had been sent by the Emperor to Agra to assist Jai Singh in keeping the Marāthas out of the North, marched by way of Ajmer towards Mārwār. With this vast but disjointed host of a hundred thousand men, Jai Singh reached Gangwānā, 11 miles north-east of the Pushkar lake, and encamped, with his guns planted in front The Mārwār army was hopelessly outnumbered But Bakht Singh, at the head of only one thousand Rāthor horsemen, desperate like himself, charged the enemy, swept through the line of guns, and fell upon Jai Singh's troops, "like tigers upon a flock of sheep" Nothing could stand their onset * Many thousands of the Jaipur troops were slain and many more wounded, mostly without fighting The Kachhwā army fled away, and within four hours the field, covering some square miles, was entirely cleared as by magic of all save the dead and the wounded.

Jai Singh fell back two miles and stood for some time almost alone and in perplexity The three imperial generals, who had not been attacked, coolly kept their places in the field ('near Pahāri'), though their followers had caught the panic and fled away, leaving only a hundred men out of nearly ten thousand to support them. By this time Bakht Singh's gallant band had been reduced from a thousand to seventy men only and he himself was wounded Just then the three imperial generals, who had formed a rallying centre for more of their men, fired their rockets on Bakht Singh and his group This unexpected renewal of attack on a field which he believed to have been won and where he could see no enemy before him, was more than what he and his small remnant of Rāthors could bear, so he turned the reins for his stronghold of Nāgor Jai Singh, thus miraculously saved from a field where his army had reaped nothing but shame, took the road to his capital. This battle was fought

* The best account of this battle is by the eye-witness Harcharandās in *Chahār Gulzār*, 377b-379b Date in *Vir Vinod*, (new style, which I have adjusted to old style.) *Vam Bh* 3304-3312, Tod, (ii Marwar ch 11 ) Harcharan exaggerates the casualties as 12,000 slain and the same number wounded He gives a horrid picture of the battlefield as it looked when he walked among the dead the next day

on 28th May 1741 and was soon followed by peace between the two States.

## § 2. *Ishwari Singh's struggles with his brother*

This was the last battle at which Jai Singh was present. He died on 21st September 1743* and was succeeded by his eldest son Ishwari Singh, whose reign of seven years was one long struggle with his younger brother Mādho Singh and Mādho Singh's supporters, Rajput and Marātha. Shortly after Jai Singh's death Mahārānā Jagat Singh of Mewār took the field to wrest the Jaipur throne for his nephew Mādho Singh and advanced to the village of Jāmoli, 5 miles south-west of Jahāzpur (which is 11 miles south of Deoli cantonment), at the end of 1743. Here he halted for 40 days, a Jaipur force facing him; but no battle took place and peace was finally made by Ishwari Singh promising to give his brother a large appanage. But Mādho Singh would be content with nothing less than half his father's heritage, for we find him often afterwards rising against his elder brother. Early in February 1745 one such attempt was nipped in the bud, when the Marātha partisans of Ishwari Singh surprised the Mahārānā's camp at mid-night, fired into it and put the Mewār troops to flight at dawn. Mādho Singh and his uncle escaped to Udaipur and Ishwari Singh repudiated his former promise.†

In 1747 an unprecedentedly severe famine raged throughout Rājputānā and Western India. There was an utter failure of

* But *Vir Vinod* gives the date 30 Sept. 1744 O.S.

† *Vamsha Bhāskar*, 3328 and 3380. This work (written in 1841) says that the Mahārānā was released by the Marāthas only on promising them 22 *lakhs* of Rupees. But Marāthi records show this to be an error. What the Mahārānā did was to send his agent Kanirām to Malhar, promising most solemnly to pay the Marāthas a reward of 20 *lakhs* of Rupees if they could secure for Mādho Singh a *jāgir* of 24 *lakhs* a year from Ishwari Singh. To induce the Peshwā to accept the offer, Malhar informed him that Safdar Jang and Amir Khān were on the side of Mādho Singh, so that the Emperor and his Court were not likely to be antagonised towards the Marāthas by their partisanship of Mādho Singh. [*S P D.*, xxvii. 18 and 19. These letters are conjecturally dated by the editor August 1746, but seem to have been written several months earlier. The subject is continued in *Aiti. Patra.* ii. 68 and 76.]

the seasonal rains no crop could grow, the water-courses dried up not a green blade could be seen anywhere; month after month a dusty haze covered the horizon and never a drop of rain or dew. The cattle perished for want of fodder and men from the dearth of grain. As a Marātha observer wrote, "Men, it seems, cannot get even water for washing their faces. The whole country has been desolated. Even Udaipur is gone, the Mahārānā has decided to vacate his city and go to the bank of the Dhebār lake and live there." Ummed Singh was driven to sell his best elephant to meet his wants. In Gujrat this famine was popularly known as *Trilotra* (*i e.*, that of the Vikram year 1803) and the people ate up the seeds of grass and died of flux in consequence; many villages were utterly depopulated and remained untenanted for years afterwards. And yet the Rājputs did not cease their fratricidal contests. Ishwari Singh kept up his army on a war footing on the strength of his purse and the Mahārānā in reliance on the Peshwā's backing. [*S. P. D.*, ii 4. xxi 19. *Mirat Ahm.* ii 364, *Vam. Bh.* 3446.]

Ummed Singh Hādā (the dispossessed heir of Bundi) and Mādho Singh (the defeated claimant to the throne of Jaipur) met the Mahārānā at Nāthdwārā on 4th Oct. 1746, and formed plans for avenging their late defeats at the hands of Ishwari Singh. They sent agents to Kālpi to hire the troops of Malhar Rāo Holkar, offering him two *lakhs* of Rupees. Malhar, against the advice of his colleagues Rānoji Sindhia and Rāmchandra Bābā Shenvi, sent his son Khande Rāo at the head of a thousand horse to support these three Rājput chiefs and enforce the following demands of the allies, namely that Ishwari Singh should (i) cede the four *parganas* of Tonk Todā Mālpurā and Newāi to Mādho Singh, (ii) restore Bundi to Ummed Singh Hādā on condition of his becoming an ally of Ishwari Singh in future and paying the war expenses of the Marāthas, and (iii) allow the three parganas of Nenve Samidhi and Karwār to be held by Rāo Rajah Durjan Sāl of Kotā and Pratap Singh Hādā (heir of Karwār). [*S. P. D.* ii 3.]

## § 3 *Battle of Rajmahal, March 1747*

Marching from Kālpi into Rājputānā, Khande Rāo was joined at Udaipur by the contingent of Durjan Sāl of Kotā

(patron of Ummed Singh) and the Mewar forces The allied army thus swollen to vast numbers, crossed the Jaipur frontier and reached Rājmahal (ten miles north of Deoli cantonment and south of a bend in the Banās river) where Ishwari Singh's general Nārāyan-dās confronted it The rival armies encamped two miles apart Meantime efforts at peace were made from Delhi and Jaipur Ishwari Singh's counsellors and even his general Nārāyandās,—who had hastened alone from the front to the capital at the pacific appeal of the Udaipur minister,—urged him to avoid an engagement and try negotiations for peace, lest the Mahārānā and the Marāthas should be made enemies for ever by an armed conflict But Ishwari Singh decided to hasten to his frontier and beat the invaders before the Mahārānā could come up and swell their number He transferred the command of his advanced division to Haragovind Nātāni, a tradesman by caste but an exceptionally brave and able general, and himself arrived with the reserve one day's march behind the fighting front

The battle* began at noon on Sunday the 1st of March and ended at sunset the next day, The allies were completely defeated, though both sides suffered heavily Each contingent of this ill-knit army had been attacked and routed in succession through the skilful planning and personal leadership of Haragovind The only stand was made by a Kotā vassal, the laird of Kolāpur-Patan Mādho Singh's standard-bearing elephant and band, all his artillery and camp-baggage, were captured by the Jaipur troops. At night the victors slept in the deserted camp of the Mewār army. During the battle, Khandé Rāo, who in the usual Marātha manner had stood apart watching for an opportunity to plunder, fell upon the Jaipur camp in conjunction with Bhopatrām Chāran, the Hādā general, but was repulsed by the Shekhāwat guard, after looting some property

From the lost field, Durjan Sāl fled to Kotā, and Khandé Rāo retreated to Bundelkhand The Mahārānā who was coming up in support, on hearing of the disaster, turned rein from the way and sought refuge in his capital

It was a great victory Ishwari Singh arrived on the scene after the fight and took up the pursuit Mewār now felt the heavy

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* Rajmahal· *S.P.D.*, ii. 3, 4, xxi, 24 *Vam Bh* 3460-'68 (year wrong.)

hand of the victor, its rich trade-centre at Bhilwārā was captured and the merchants held to ransom. The Mahārānā then sued for peace, which was granted and Ishwari Singh returned in triumph to his own capital (April 1747.) A continuation of the war was impossible, grain was selling at famine prices and even a bundle of grass cost a Rupee, the Mahārānā's war expenses had run up to Rs. 12,000 a day and his poor dominion could not bear the burden any longer. [*Vam. Bh.*, 3472.]

Towards the end of this year Ishwari Singh was appealed to by the Emperor to come to his aid for repelling the Abdālī invasion from the north-west. The Mahārājah demanded the imperial fort of Rantambhor as the price of his support, and when it was refused he lingered on the way at Mathurā for weeks together, arriving at Delhi only on 24th December 1747. In the battle with the Abdālī at Mānupur (11th March 1748) he turned tail at the very beginning of the fight and fled precipitately back to his own country, throwing his guns and kettledrums into wells to lighten his baggage[1] All the credit he had gained by his victory at Rājmahal was thus lost, and he shut himself up as if dumb-foundered in his capital. [*S. P. D.*, xxvii. 30.]

## § 4. *How the Marātha Government agreed to support Madho Singh*

But even at home danger sought him out. He was overwhelmed by a Marātha force acting for his younger brother, only a few months after his return from the Panjab campaign.

The tangled web of Kachhwā-Marātha diplomacy can be now unravelled and laid out in clear outlines with the help of the contemporary Marāthi letters, though some self-inconsistency naturally occurs in them as the terms demanded and offered varied from time to time. We have seen how Ishwari Singh shortly after his accession had to patch up a peace with the Mahārānā by promising to give his younger brother an appanage of 24 *lakhs* of Rupees a year (1743), and that in February 1745 he had bought the help of some Marātha generals in Northern India (notably Ramchandra Bābā) and routed the Mahārānā's forces, and then refused to fulfil his promise. Next, Malhar Holkar had been bribed by Mādho Singh to espouse his cause and detach a

force from his contingent to support Madho Singh in 1747, but the attempt had ended in utter failure at Rājmahal (March) This victory made Ishwari Singh inordinately proud and his brother could expect nothing from him thereafter So, the Mahārānā's envoy had gone to Punā and entreated the Maratha Court to exact from Ishwari Singh the fulfilment of his first promise, offering Shāhu a tribute of ten lakhs or more for this service

The Peshwā had been originally Ishwari Singh's supporter But he now (7th March 1747) instructed Rāmchandra Bābā to press Ishwari Singh to cede to Mādho Singh 24 *lakhs* worth of territory, if the latter prince paid a subsidy of 15 *lakhs*, on the ground that "thus both the princes would be preserved and our interests would be served" Rāmchandra Bābā rightly protested against this line of action as futile and lacking in the sense of reality. He urged, "We shall get no money out of it Our king took up Ishwari Singh's cause and by his order I went and helped him If you now turn against Ishwari Singh, we shall lose all credit [for sincerity] among the public"

Despairing of getting help for his nephew from the Peshwā, the Mahārānā tried to gain the support of the imperial Court and also began to collect Rāthor and Hādā allies for the purpose He completely won Malhar Holkar over who again and again pressed Mādho Singh's cause on the Peshwā with passionate partisanship and even gave a personal guarantee for the payment of Mādho Singh's promised tribute Thus Mālhar and Sindhia's diwān Rāmchandra Bābā were moving at cross-purposes The Peshwā strongly deprecated such a conflict of policy in the Marātha camp in Hindustan as destructive of the Marātha position and interests there, and urged unity of action in future He very wisely ordered Holkar and Rāmchandra Bābā to try every possible means of accommodating this family quarrel by persuading Ishwari Singh to cede the promised territory to his younger brother, instead of letting this fratricidal contest run its fatal course. [*Aitihāsik Patr* ii 68 and 76.]

When the demand of 24 lakhs worth of territory for Mādho was placed before Ishwari Singh, he was rightly indignant at the Peshwā's partisanship of his rival and especially at

his intervention in a domestic dispute of the Kachhwā royalty, and wrote in reply, 'There is a unique and hereditary friendship between the Peshwa and myself. Bālāji Rāo cannot imagine how thick my father was with his and what services he rendered to Baji Rāo. Even now I do not deviate from the Peshwā's request. But this *question* is one of inheritance of ancestral property. We are Rajahs and must follow our hereditary usage. It is a case of territory; how can I oblige him in this? I had previously given Mādho Singh what Malhar had pressed me to give him on the ground of service to the State. He now asks for more. How can I give him without fighting? How can I bring down upon myself the name of a coward and an unworthy son by dividing my entire kingdom with a younger brother? The Peshwa and Malhar want more territory to be given to Mādho Singh than before, but it cannot be done. God alone gives kingdoms. He exchanged turbans [with Malhar], the fruit of which pact he has witnessed by this time.' [*S. P. D.* ii. 11, xxvii. 26 and 18-19, xxi. 17.]

In 1747, the Peshwā entered Jaipur territory. Mādho Singh and other Rajput chiefs joined him, thus swelling his forces to an enormous host. Ishwari Singh lay crushed under the disgrace of his flight from the field of Mānupur; his country was utterly devastated by the Maratha light horse, and the Peshwā was now high in favour at the imperial Court, so that the Jaipur Rajah had not a single friend anywhere. He therefore assumed a very submissive attitude and sent his minister Keshavdās to the Peshwā to beg for peace. The Marāthas demanded a contribution of 50 *lakhs* of Rupees, while Ishwari Singh could not rise above half that sum. The Marāthas even proposed to divide the Jaipur State into two equal halves to be held by the two brothers. To this Ishwari Singh could not possibly agree, and so war ensued. On condition of being secured the four mahals of Tonk, Todā, Mālpurā (including Fāgi) and Barwādā in Newai from Ishwari Singh as his appanage, Madho Singh agreed to pay the Maratha Rajah a *nazar* of 10 *lakhs* of Rupees. Malhar gave his king a written undertaking for the amount, payable in four instalments during 1749-50, this Maratha general being allowed to occupy that territory till the payment was com-

pleted [28th April 1748 Vad. iii, pp 140-141 *S P D* xxvii 30, 26, 18, 19, ii 11, xxi 17]

### § 5 *Battle of Bagru, August 1748*

In July 1748 a Marātha army under Malhar Holkar and Gangādhar Tātyā entered Jaipur territory near Umārā, wrested Tonk, Todā and Mālpurā, and gave these places to Mādho Singh As they advanced by way of Piplod, Fāgi and Ladānā, some Kachhwā vassals waited on Mādho Singh and did him homage, and several other petty Rājput chiefs joined him, besides the two Hādās Ummed and Durjan Sāl None seemed able to resist this confederacy of seven States, till they reached Bagru (23 miles east of Sambhar town) Here Ishwari Singh himself faced them The battle began on 1st August with an artillery duel, then the soldiers came to close quarters Finally a heavy shower of rain put an end to the fighting for that day The night was spent by general and private alike in the greatest hardship. Next morning the battle was renewed, with heavy slaughter but no decisive result On the third day Gangādhar Tātyā fell upon the guns of the Jaipur rear-guard and drove nails into their port-holes But Suraj Mal Jat, an ally of Ishwari Singh, made a counter-attack and drove the Marāthas back In the van the Jāts maintained a bloody even fight with Holkar's division.

The battle raged for six days, frequently amidst showers of rain, which however did not suspend it During this period a convoy of provisions coming to the Jaipur army was intercepted by the Marāthas, who cut off the noses and ears of the porters A Marātha detachment of 5000 horse under Gangādhar blocked the road to Jaipur in the rear of Ishwari Singh and plundered his country up to the Sambhar lake. Ishwari Singh took refuge in the fort of Bagru, amidst the greatest hardship Terms were thereafter quickly settled through the exertions of Keshav-dās (the son of Rajah Ayā Mal) who bribed Gangādhar Tātyā to soften the obstinacy of Malhar Rao Ishwari Singh agreed to give five parganas to his brother and to restore Bundi to Ummed Singh. On 9th August, Ishwari Singh met Holkar and his captains as well as Ummed Singh, and they swore to mutual

friendship Then the Marathas and their associates began a retreat on the 10th and Ishwari Singh set out for his capital on the following day *

The year 1749 passed uneventfully for Jaipur, but the first half of the next year was clouded by the invasion of Rajputana by the imperial Paymaster Salābat Khan on behalf of Bakht Singh, the claimant to the throne of Jodhpur, the history of which will be narrated a little later in connection with Mārwār affairs In September 1750, Ishwari Singh was besought by Sāmant Singh, the chief of Rupnagar, to help him in recovering that city from his younger brother Bahādur Singh who had seized it The two allies went to Rupnagar, where Sāmant Singh begged for more troops and artillery to lay siege to it But he was unable to pay the war expenses and Ishwari Singh came back to his capital, leaving only two or three hundred horsemen under his captain Kripā-rām (a *banià*) with Sāmant Singh Sāmant occupied the environs, while Bahādur Singh (secretly backed by Bakht Singh) held the capital [*S P D* ii 17, 23 ]

§ 6 *Maratha invasion of Jaipur, suicide of Ishwari Singh*

At the end of 1750 Jaipur received a new and most disastrous visitation of the Marāthas and saw a revolution in its affairs In 1745 Ishwari Singh had outbid his rivals and hired the Marātha generals (excepting Holkar) to aid him in his struggle with the Mahārānā and Mādho Singh At Bagru (1748) he had promised a vast indemnity to buy off Malhar. These amounts fell into arrear and, as the Marātha collector complained, his dunning produced no effect; "this Government pays no heed to the matter, it is merely putting off payment from day to day" At the same time confusion seized the internal

* *Vam Bh* 3493-3525 *Sujān Charitra*, ii Jang Tod, (ii Haravati, ch 4) is more than usually imaginative in saying that from the field of Bagru, "Ishwari Singh retreated to the castle of Bagru . where after a siege of ten days he was forced to sign a deed for the surrender of Bundi to Ummed . Rajah Ishwari could not survive his disgrace and terminated his existence by poison while rejoicings were making [at Bundi] to celebrate the installation of Ummed" As a matter of fact, Ishwari Singh committed suicide *two years and four months after* the battle of Bagru. Marathi records of this battle in Rajwadé vi. pp. 291 and 648. *Purandaré Daftar*, i. nos 185 and 196.

administration of Jaipur. Ishwari Singh, never very remarkable for intelligence or spirit now became half-witted. The able ministers who had so long maintained the power and prosperity of the State were gone one by one. Rajah Aya Mal Khatri (called *Rājāmal* or *Malji* in the Rājasthāni and Marāthi records), the ablest of Jaipur diplomatists and the most faithful guardian of his master's interests, died on 9th February, 1747.* "Ishwari Singh and high and low alike in the city of Jaipur were grieved at his death. Nay, all Hindustan mourned for him," as a Maratha agent reported. His son Keshav-das succeeded him as minister but, on a false charge of holding treasonable correspondence which was fabricated by his rival Hara-govind Nātāni he was poisoned by command of his senseless master (c. August 1750.) The other elder statesman, Vidyādhar, was now a bed-ridden invalid. The old chief of artillery Shivnāth Bhāyā, was thrown into prison with his entire family, wives and children. Ishwari Singh's only counsellors and confidants now were a barber and an elephant-driver. No wonder we find a Marātha observer reporting in November that the whole country of Jaipur had been convulsed. [*S. P. D.* ii. 15 and 1.]

The Peshwā, in despair of getting his dues from Jaipur, had instructed his generals to visit that State after settling the affairs of Malwa. The tragic death of the last honest and friendly minister Keshavdās strengthened his resolve to apply force. The late minister's family seem to have appealed to the Marāthas to avenge his murder. Malhar Rāo Holkar started from Khāndesh on 29th September 1750 and marched towards Jaipur, while Jayāpā Sindhia, who had been at first bidden to accompany him, was detained in the Deccan for more than a month. On 19th November, Malhar Holkar and Gangādhar Tātyā (surnamed Chandra-chur) reached the Mukundarā pass and on

* Aya Mal was a master of Persian and edited two collections of Aurangzib's letters entitled the *Ramz-o-ishara-i-Alamgiri* and the *Dastur-ul-aml-i-Agahi*, his pen-name being *Agahi*. On the death of Keshav-das, his soldiers greatly troubled his widow for the arrears of their pay, the Government merely procrastinated and at last she cleared their dues by selling the robes and utensils of the family. Two sons of Keshav-das, named Harsāhi and Gursāhi were retained in service as *bakhshis*, while a son-in-law was consoled with a post in the cavalry. [*S.P.D.*, xxi. 34.]

the 28th Newai, which was taken after a siege of three days and made a Marātha outpost for holding the large pargana under it. After a halt of ten days here, the invaders marched to Jaipur, and when they were still two or three days' journey from that city Ishwari Singh's envoys met them with two *lakhs* of Rupees. Holkar flew into a rage at the smallness of the sum, would listen to no excuse, and ordered the march to be resumed. [*S. P. D.*, xxi. 34, ii. 31, 19.]

The Jaipur *wakil* in alarm reported to his master that Malhar was coming to avenge the murder of Keshav dās. The old discarded ministers, Haragovind Natani and Vidyadhar, went to Ishwari Singh and advised him to assemble his troops and fight Holkar either in the open or from within the walled city. The Rajah disliked this counsel; he called his new favourites, the barber and the elephant-driver, and ordered them to go to the Marātha camp, appease the wrath of Holkar by paying four or five lakhs, and turn him back from the way. They flatly refused to go, saying that they would be killed by Holkar in retaliation for Keshav dās's death, and that their master might slay them there if he wished but should not send them to face the Marātha's fury. The Rajah remained silent and brooded over his fate.

It was the 12th of December, 1750. Evening came and with it the news that Holkar had arrived within twenty miles of the city. Ishwari Singh ordered his servant to bring a live cobra and some arsenic as needed for preparing a medicine. It was done. At midnight he swallowed the poison and caused the cobra to sting him. Three of his queens and one favourite concubine took poison along with him and all five of them died in the silence and seclusion of that palace chamber. None in the city, not even the ministers of State, heard of the tragedy. Only one valet held the secret of it, while the corpses lay unburnt and unattended to for eighteen hours. [*S. P. D.*, ii. 31; *Vam. Bh.* 3608-3611.]

Next day, three hours after dawn, Khande Rao Holkar and Gangādhar Tātyā with the Marātha vanguard appeared before Jaipur, while Malhar with the rest of the army encamped at Phalāne-kund, six miles away. Hours passed away without any sign of activity, friendly or hostile, from the defenders of the

capital At last, at noon the minister went to the palace and sent word to the Maharajah, "The troops are coming out Why are you still sleeping?" Then the valet disclosed that the Maharajah was no more

A wild clamour of dismay and lamentation burst from all parts of the masterless city as the news of the tragedy flew around The old ministers Haragovind and Vidyādhar somehow pacified the people and went out to the Marātha force at the gate, met its two leaders, and also sent news to Malhar, who came up with his troops close to the city in the afternoon Malhar sent some men to the palace, who verified the news of the king's death Marātha guards were immediately posted at the city gates and in the palace The Rajah's corpse lay unburnt till after sunset when Malhar sent two of his civil officers with a rich pall and the necessary expenses of the funeral from his own pocket, and consigned it to the flames in the palace garden One more queen and twenty concubines* of Ishwari Singh burnt themselves alive

## § 7 *Mādho Singh becomes king of Jaipur*

Next day (14th December) a fast courier on a camel was sent to Mādho Singh inviting him to come quickly and occupy the vacant throne Haragovind and Vidyādhar visited Malhar and entreated him hard to spare the State After four days' discussion they agreed to pay a heavy ransom for the kingdom and capital, and then Malhar recalled the pickets he had posted at various places and set himself to realise the money Mādho Singh arrived on 29th December and was welcomed by Malhar on the way and conducted to the palace, both seated on the same elephant

Jayāpā Sindhia arrived on 6th January, 1751 and united forces with Malhar "The question of ransom (*khandani*) had been settled before, but now a new demand was made that one-third or at least one-fourth of the territory of Jaipur should

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* *S P.D.*, ii 31 (Baburao Vishnu's letter from Malhar's camp, 22 Jan.) But *Vamsha Bhāskar* p 3615, says that when that licentious youth, Khanderao Holkar, wanted to take to his harem the choicest concubines of Ishwari Singh, they burnt themselves to the number of eleven, on 14th Dec. *Vam. Bh.* 3612-3616

be made over to the Marathas by a written deed This alienated the Rajah and the Rajputs In the meantime vassals, especially a large contingent of Shekhawat warriors, had gathered round the new king and Madho Singh's policy changed he would no longer remain a dependant of the Marāthas, but planned to free himself from their insatiable greed by means of murder He invited the Marātha chiefs to a dinner, arranging to poison their food and kill their personal escorts by the same means He pressed his request again and again Malhar at first consented, but on Jayāpā's flat refusal, he too declined. Then for some days Mādho Singh set Brāhmans to cook sweetmeats for the Marātha soldiers, at the end of which he mixed poison with them He even poisoned the drinking water, using two maunds of white arsenic for the purpose "But God preserved our generals. Jayāpā and Ummed Singh Hādā hindered the crime So, Mādho Singh buried the noxious food in the ground" His next plan was to invite Tātyā Gangādhar and other Marātha agents to a conference and there murder them He ordered his porters to let the *pālkis* of these four men come to his palace and then close the city gates to their followers But it so happened that the Marātha chiefs could not all come to him together and made appointments for each at a different time, and so this plot too failed. [*S P D* ii. 31, xxvii. 65]

## § 8 *Massacre of Marāthas in Jaipur city*

The explosion of Rajput hatred, however, could not be altogether prevented, it burst on 10th January. The Marāthas were taking advantage of the helpless condition of the Kachhwā State under a king propped up by their arms They seemed to have looked upon Jaipur as a city taken by storm It is not stated anywhere that their rank and file imitated the licentious conduct of their chief Khandé Rao and tried to abduct women from the houses of the citizens But their domineering airs and garrison manners galled the proud Rajput spirit On that day some four thousand Marāthas had entered the city of Jaipur to see the temples and other sights of this newly built town, unique in India for the regularity and artistic beauty of its construction, and to buy horses, camels and saddlery for which Jaipur was famous Among the visitors were many of Jayāpā's retainers,

including four high captains entitled to ride in *pālkis*. Suddenly, at noon, a riot broke out and the citizens attacked the unsuspecting Marathas. For nine hours the slaughter and plunder raged from ward to ward of the city. Some fifteen hundred Marāthās were slain and about a thousand wounded (many of them mortally), only some seventy of the visitors escaping with life and limb. Many, in leaping down from the city walls, broke their legs or spine and only a few saved themselves in this way. Among the victims were several of Jayāpā's and Malhar's high officers and servants, a hundred Brāhmans, Pindhāris, slave girls and even children. A thousand excellent horses ridden by these men as well as the golden bracelets, pearl necklaces, money and accoutrement that they had on their persons were taken away by the Rajputs.*

The shock of this blow spread to outside the capital. The Rajputs rose in the villages and killed the couriers of the Marāthas wherever they could catch them, so that the roads were closed. Two days later (12th January) the Marātha army marched away from the gates of Jaipur to a place some eight miles off. Seven days passed in threats of war, after which (on 19th January) Mādho Singh's *wakils* waited on the two generals and on his behalf disclaimed all previous knowledge or share in the riot, which they described as a sudden and spontaneous explosion. They pleaded for a compromise, saying that the dead were dead beyond recall. The Marātha leaders, too, felt that with their present forces they were powerless to avenge the massacre. Jaipur city was impregnable to assault, the country was large and peopled by a warlike race. So, they agreed to forgive the past on the following conditions: (1) the

* Baburao Vishnu's letter of 22nd January. He ascribes the massacre to a deliberate plan of the Rajah and says "The four captains of Jayapa riding in *palkis* were taken for Jatva and other invited chiefs, and under that wrong notion Mādho Singh went away from his darbar to the roof of his palace. His men, acting as preconcerted, closed the city gates and began to massacre the Marathas within. ... 3000 Marathas were slain and 1000 wounded." [*S.P.D.* ii. 31.] *Vam. Bh.* 3622 gives the same figures. But another Maratha agent, Har Bāji Rām, writing from Jaipur on 7th Feb. puts the number of the dead as 1500, while Hari Vittal, writing on 12th Feb. gives the figure of five or six hundred men. [*S.P.D.*, xxvii. 64 and 65.]

restoration of all the horses captured in the city, (2) payment of compensation for the property plundered, and (3) delivery of orders on bankers for the ransom previously agreed upon.* Even then strained feelings and mutual suspicion continued and the Rajah and Malhar refused to see each other. The Marātha generals were being constantly pressed by Safdar Jang's agent Rajah Ram Nārāyan present in their camp to hasten to his aid in the Bangash campaign, for which he agreed to pay 50 *lakhs* of Rupees as soon as the Afghan was defeated. But Mādho Singh put off payment from day to day with smooth promises, and thus more than three weeks were wasted before the Marāthas could leave Jaipur territory. Meantime a terrible scarcity raged in their camp, rice sold at four seers, oil at 2 seers, *ghee* at 1½ seers, millet flour at 8 seers, and horse gram at 16 seers for a Rupee. No provision came to them by the regular way of trade; only their foraging parties brought in a little grain by raiding the villages. On 7th February, Malhar was encamped 24 miles east of Jaipur, and a few days afterwards he resumed his march to Agra by regular stages in order to join Safdar Jang. [*S. P. D.*, xxvii. 64 and 65.]

### § 9. *Salābat Khan fights Suraj Mal, January 1750*

The civil war in Jaipur having been ended by the accession of Mādho Singh, we are free to turn to the affairs of Mārwār. Its ruler Abhay Singh died on 21st June 1749, his son Rām Singh ascended his throne, and then the long-dreaded war of succession between Rām Singh and his paternal uncle Bakht Singh (the chieftain of Nāgor) could be averted no longer. It was actually precipitated by the youthful new Maharajah's insane pride, reckless insolence, and haughty challenge to Bakht Singh. The latter had recently risen high in influence at the imperial Court, having been nominated *subahdār* of Gujrat (29 June 1748) in the vain hope of stemming the tide of Marātha aggression there. It was therefore the interest of the Emperor to placate him, and so the Mir Bakhshi Salābat Khan was authorised to give him armed support in wresting the throne of Mārwār, on

* From the collection made in Jaipur. Malhar and Jayāpā were ordered by their Rajah, on 18 June 1751, to pay him annually half a *lakh* as the *nazar* of Mādho Singh's kingdom. [Vad. iii. p. 129.]

condition of Bakht Singh helping the imperialists to defend the *subahs* of Agra and Ajmir (both under the Mir Bakhshi) from Maratha invaders and local rebels and to set up the royal administration there. After making this arrangement at Delhi, Bakht Singh went to his own principality in order to raise troops, while Salābat Khan, taking 18,000 men with himself, started for Ajmir, where the two were to unite.

On the way, the Bakhshi halted at Pataudi (35 miles south-west of Delhi) for the first ten days of the month of fasting (30 Nov.—9 Dec. 1749) and then marched ravaging Mewāt to the little mud-fort of Nimrāna (33 miles s.w. of Pataudi), which belonged to the Jat Rajah. His vanguard took it at the first attack (30th December). Early next morning his camp and baggage were sent ahead towards Nārnol (17 miles west of Nimrānā), which was the seat of a *faujdār*. When, a few hours later, Salabat himself mounted to follow, he suddenly changed his plan and decided to go to the Agra province and fight the Jats there first. He recalled his baggage and turned his face back towards Agra. The night was spent in Sarāi Sobhāchānd.* In the course of that night an extremely mobile Jat force of 5,000 men under Suraj Mal overtook him by a forced march. Next day (1st January 1750), the Mughal foraging party found the Jats barring their way and summoned reinforcements which reached them two hours before sunset. The soldiers of the Bakhshi's army, hungry thirsty and inexperienced in war, began to run, one before another, placing their guns in front lest the Jats should capture them at night if planted in the rear. Seeing this disorder, the Jats charged in successive squadrons, firing volleys from their muskets, and causing heavy slaughter. Hakim Khan Kheshgi, the commander of the Bakhshi's right wing, was shot dead; Ali Rustam Khan, in charge of his vanguard, was wounded. Utter defeat fell on the imperialists. The victorious Jat horse hovered round the camp of Salābat Khan, plundered a part of it, and threw him into helpless terror. The Jat Rajah Badan Singh had at first humbly begged the Bakhshi not to ravage his lands, as he had done no offence against the Emperor but was living as a loyal vassal, and the Bakhshi had haughtily demanded two

* *Indian Atlas*, Sh. 49 s.w., has *Sobapur* 5 miles due east of Narnol and 13m. n.w. of Nimrana.

*krores* of Rupees as the price of his forbearance, saying that Mewat was his (the Bakhshi's) *jagir* and the Jat Rajah had seized some villages there and slain Asad Khan Khanazad. Now, after a day or two of helpless confinement within his entrenchments, Salābat was forced to sue for peace which was granted by the Jats on the following terms:—(i) the imperial Government would promise not to cut down *pipal* trees, (ii) nor to hinder the worship of it, while (iii) Suraj Mal undertook to collect 15 *lakhs* of Rupees from the Rajputs as the revenue of the province of Ajmir and pay it into the imperial Exchequer, provided that the Bakhshi took his advice and did not proceed beyond Nārnol.*

§ 10. *Salabat Khan's Rajput campaign.*

The Bakhshi then turned back to his original course and reached Nārnol, where Bakht Singh joined him. Then the two by a forced march arrived at the Goklā hill near Ajmir. At the first report of the Bakhshi's coming, Rām Singh of Jodhpur had appealed for help to Ishwari Singh of Jaipur. The latter Rajah gladly welcomed this opportunity of being publicly regarded as the superior of every other potentate in Rajasthan and the patron of his former rival, the house of Jodhpur. He met Rām Singh at Jodhpur and decided on war, saying "God is the Giver of victory." Their united forces, 30,000 strong with abundance of artillery, marched from Jodhpur towards Mertā, the eastern frontier-fort of Mārwār, and arrived at Pipār in the morning of 4th April, 1750.

Meantime, Salābat Khan, after resting for some time at Ajmir, had advanced with Bakht Singh by way of Pushkar and Riān of Sher Singh (15 miles south-east of Mertā and two miles north of the Sarsuti river) to Mertā. From Mertā he turned sharply to the south, *via* Lumāwās (11 m. s. s. w. of Mertā), and arriving at noon about 5 miles on the right hand of Ishwari

* *Siyar* iii. 38-39, *Muz.* 28-32, *Sujān Charitra*, iii. *Jang. S. P. D.*, xxi. 26 adds that the Rana of Gohad joined Suraj Mal in the attack upon the Bakhshi, from whom Suraj Mal captured 2 or 3 elephants and the Rana one, and that finally the Jat Rajah agreed to pay nine lakhs as war-contribution and to send Suraj Mal with 5,000 horse (and a contingent of 200 troopers from Gohad) to serve under the Bakhshi.

Singh's position, halted, (evidently at the village of Raoma, 7 miles east of Pipār, on the road to Mertā.) Bakht Singh had tempted Salābat to come so far with the assurance that when he arrived sufficiently near many of Rām Singh's discontented chiefs would at once come over to Bakht Singh's side and the Jodhpur Rajah would be compelled by his helpless situation to pay tribute.

On hearing of the approach of the Mughals, Ishwari Singh advanced towards the enemy in line of battle. Salābat, on his part, prepared for fight and, placing his camp and baggage in the rear, presented a bold front to the two Rajahs. But his own army was a house divided against itself. He could not trust Bakht Singh fully and remarked "These Rangars (wild Rajputs) are all of the same breed. I cannot be sure what Bakht Singh may do at any time.* Therefore, I must keep him seated on my elephant." Bakht Singh's retainers opposed this proposal, which would have left them leaderless and helpless in case he was made prisoner. This internal quarrel prevented any battle from being fought that day (4th April), and the armies merely stood facing each other. But this marching and counter-marching and standing in battle array completely exhausted Salābat Khan's troops; no chief of Rām Singh came over to his side; the noon-day sun blazed overhead with not a tree in sight; the water in his camp ran short, and the soldiers began to rob the *bhistis* who were bringing water in their leather-bags. Salābat Khan, therefore, wrote an autograph letter to Ishwari Singh, "I do not at all desire war. There is only this affair between Bakht Singh and Rām Singh, which you had better settle as arbitrator. In my opinion it would be expedient if you do not allow your van-guard to advance any further. I am encamping [where I am now]; do you encamp at your place. We two have between us 30 to 35 thousand soldiers and large trains of artillery. Where is the gain in our quarrelling about this one man Bakht Singh?" Salābat, thus assumed a tone of lordly superiority and bene-

* Bakht Singh's pride in Rathor prestige had once before proved stronger than his self-interest and fidelity to his plighted word. Having invited Sawāi Jai Singh to invade Jodhpur territory he had, at the ensuing battle of Gangwana (1741), fought most desperately against the invader.

violence made an oblique march to the right hand, and encamped at a distance of four miles from the Jaipur-Jodhpur armies

Ishwari Singh on his part, saw that by merely taking Rām Singh under his protection he had already gained from him a large sum for his army expenses, and appeared before the Rajputana public as the more powerful of the two Maharajahs. The Bakhshi considered that he had already created a general impression of his power and greatness and that if he now forced a war on, the Rāthor clan would be turned into bitter enemies of the empire. Rām Singh found that many of his vassals, being of uncertain loyalty were keeping aloof in their castles, so that the whole brunt of the campaign would fall on his unaided shoulders. All three parties being thus disposed, Salābat's proposal of a compromise was everywhere welcomed. Rām Singh encamped in front of the Bakhshi, at two or three miles' distance, while the terms were being discussed.

In two days the scanty water in the Bakhshi's position became totally exhausted, but the two Maharajahs barred his way to the only place where a better supply of water could be had. Salābat in helplessness threw the blame for his untenable situation on Bakht Singh, telling him, "For thy sake, I have been put to this disgrace. Thou hast performed none of thy promises." And then he ranged his artillery round his own tents as a caution against his ally. On the 6th of April the Rajah of Bikānir (the steadfast ally of Bakht) reached the Mughal camp with 2,000 men and pacified the Bakhshi. Ishwari Singh, too, sent a conciliatory message, entreating Salābat Khan as a great man to cherish the humble and not to be impatient. So, the Bakhshi halted, intending to take whatever was paid in cash and a written bond for the balance, make Rām Singh give some money to Bakht Singh and finally reduce the imposed tribute at the entreaty of Rām Singh, so as to keep both these Rāthor princes under obligation to him. [*S. P. D.*, ii. 16.]

But the higgling continued and no mutual agreement was arrived at in ten days, after which the Bakhshi decided to try force. Insolently rejecting Bakht Singh's advice, Salābat Khan sent his vanguard on to make a direct attack on Rām Singh's

front lines, where all his big artillery was planted When the Mughals arrived close enough, the Rajputs who had been hitherto perfectly quiet, delivered a sudden volley, killing many of them. The imperialists halted and began an exchange of gun-fire (14th April, 1750) After four hours' waste of munition in this kind of indecisive battle, nature asserted her supremacy over man, the summer sun of the Rajput desert proved intolerable, the Mughal soldiers turned frantic with thirst, as the only wells in that region were in their enemy's possession "Many of these troopers at noon, in search of water, went up to the Rajput position; the Rajputs very chivalrously gave water to them and their horses till they were sated and then told them,—'Go back now There is war between you and us'" [*Siyar*, iii 39]

The battle ceased of itself Each party fell back on its camp, the imperialists setting the example On the two sides taken together some 70 or 80 men only were killed. At first there was loud talk in the camps of pressing the contest to a decision the next day by a charge straight ahead and sword to sword combat But the Delhi troops were not prepared to face the Mārwār sun again, and next day they did not stir out of their camp at all, merely posting patrols round it.

Ishwari Singh showed a similar spirit. The night following the battle he held a public consultation with his own followers and those of the Mārwār Rajah He began with thunder, crying out, "For Rājputs to fight with artillery is to deserve curses and the shame of cowardice Do you, therefore, gird your loins and make a frontal charge on horseback God is the Giver of victory" They replied, "We are your servants, ever at your command You merely stand behind and see how we fight to-morrow." But, as the Marātha agent in his camp had shrewdly guessed from the first, all this bluster was a pretence of the Jaipur Rajah for saving his face After this fire-eating resolution at the public *darbār*, Ishwari Singh held a secret council with half a dozen of his own leading advisers and those of Rām Singh In reply to his question, they told him that it was wiser to pay money and make peace than to fight. They had divined their master's pacific intentions and knew that he had already opened negotiations with the Mir Bakhshi through Hari Hakim.

## § 11 *Salābat makes peace with Rajputs*

On the 16th, the terms were settled as both sides were at heart bent on peace As the Marātha agent in the Jaipur camp noticed, "In fact, Ishwari Singh recognises that on the one side there is the Mir Bakhshi, a great man, and on the other side Rām Singh, a newly crowned Rajah If there is a severe reverse to either party, it would be a cause of disgrace Therefore, he has resolved to bring about a reconciliation between them somehow or other and thus become famous himself He has now 25 000 horsemen, 400 light pieces (*rahkalas*) and other kinds of artillery, besides excellent war material On the side of Bakht Singh are the Mir Bakhshi, the Bikānir Rajah, the Rupnagar chief's younger brother, and many other Rājputs, totalling 20 to 25 thousand troops and good artillery Neither side desires war We expect a contribution more or less to be agreed upon as payable to the Bakhshi and then peace will be made and all will retire to their respective places" [*S P D*, xxi 27, 35 ]

Ishwari Singh paid a visit to Salābat and was presented by Bakht Singh He promised a tribute of 27 *lakhs* on condition of the imperial army withdrawing from Rajputana and the Bakhshi transferring the actual government (*nāib-nāzimi*) of Agra to him. Rām Singh paid three *lakhs* in cash and promised four *lakhs* more by instalments Bakht Singh gained absolutely nothing, his objections and claims alike were disregarded in the eagerness to make peace, and he left the Bakhshi's army and went back to Nāgor in anger The Jat contingent returned to its home and Ishwari Singh to his capital, while Rām Singh took post on his frontier at Merta On the return march, the Bakhshi parted from Ishwari Singh at Sambhar and proceeded to Ajmir, where he encamped outside the city for five months, trying to collect the promised contributions from the Rajput States, but met with nothing but evasion and delay

During Salābat Khan's halt in Ajmir a serious situation had developed in the Gangetic doab, where the Afghans killed the wazir's agent Naval Rai (2 August) and utterly routed the wazir himself (13 September ) Rumour spread the news of the wazir's death and the expected collapse of the Delhi Government through want of a supreme administrative chief At the beginning of

September the Emperor wrote to Salābat to hasten back with his troops at the sight of the letter and reinforce the wazir in face of the Afghans, and when three weeks later news came of the disaster to Safdar Jang, the Bakhshi was eager to go to Delhi and try to secure the vacant wazirship But he was compelled to linger in Ajmir by his utter lack of money and a dying hope of realising some portion of the promised subsidy from the Rajputs The Jaipur Rajah repeatedly invited the Bakhshi to visit his beautiful new capital, but the latter declined as he was in a hurry to return to Court Ishwari Singh sent a parting gift of one *lakh* of Rupees to Salābat Khan, who was glad to receive what money he could get and to accept bonds for the balance. Towards the end of October he set out for Delhi, giving the Nārnol district to the Jaipur Rajah, who sent his diwān Hara-govind Nātāni, with 2000 horse to control it But all Mewāt was up as soon as the imperial army vacated it "Mewātis and Jats are causing disturbances The administration has broken down" [*S P D.*, xxi 34]

This expedition, in which Salābat Khan kept 17 or 18 thousand men engaged for a full year (Nov 1750—Oct 1751) and gained neither victory nor money, utterly ruined his finances This was the last attempt of the imperial Government to impose its authority on Rajputana Thereafter it made no further effort to realise its dues and rights, but left that vast country to its rulers and the Marāthas Rantambhor was gained by the Rajah of Jaipur in October 1753, and Ajmir by the ruler of Jodhpur in 1752, and then the last vestige of imperial suzerainty disappeared from Rajputana as completely as it did from Bengal, Bihār and Orissa after 1765.

## § 12 *Bakht Singh gains the throne of Jodhpur*

Bakht Singh, though scornfully cast aside by his ally the Mir Bakhshi, got his chance a few months later, when Khush-hāl Singh Champāwat, the premier noble of Mārwar, was insulted by Rām Singh and came to Bakht Singh in search of revenge Their combined army met Rām Singh near Lumāwās, 11 miles s.s.w. of Mertā, on 27th November 1750, when 1,500 to 2,000 men fell on the field, the most notable of them being Sher Singh Mertiā and one or two other leaders on the side of the Jodhpur

Rajah. The havoc was specially severe among Bakht Singh's allies from Bikānir, who lost 6 or 7 captains. Bakht himself was wounded by spear and bullet and at the first onset had to fall back four miles, but in the end Rām Singh lost the day and fled away to his capital. Unable to hold it, he took refuge in Jaipur, while Jodhpur opened its gates (8th July 1751) to Bakht Singh, who crowned himself there. Bakht Singh also took possession of the city of Ajmir and raised a large army to keep the Marāthas out of his realm. But when encamped at Sindholiyā he died of cholera (c. 23 Sep. 1752), though the popular belief in Rajputana was that he had been done to death by his niece, the Rāthor queen of Mādho Singh, by means of a poisoned robe,—the familiar device of popular legend.* His son Bijay Singh succeeded to a realm that was greatly divided and weakened by Marātha rapacity, and harried by Rām Singh for years afterwards. Unable to recover his father's throne even with Marātha help, Rām Singh was at last glad to accept the Sambhar district for his maintenance and died a refugee at Jaipur in 1773.

## § 13. *Ummed Singh's struggles for Bundi*

We shall now turn to the ever changing tides of the contest for Bundi between Dalil Singh (supported by his father-in-law the Rajah of Jaipur, on whom fell the entire brunt of the contest) and Budh Singh and his heir Ummed Singh who secured Marātha allies besides being joined (after 1743) by Ishwari Singh's rival Mādho Singh (whose cause was championed by his maternal uncle, the Mahārānā of Udaipur.) Budh Singh had been

* Battle near Lumāwās. *Vam. Bh.* 3626-3630 (500 slain and 800 wounded on the two sides together.) *S P D.*, ii. 15, gives the first incorrect rumour of the result, but correct date. Diyālji Chāran's *Kiyant* places the battle at Dudāsar tank, near Merta, and on 11 Nov. 1750, and adds, "In conjunction with Gaj S. of Bikanir, Bakht took Jodhpur, which was given over to plunder for four *prahars*, on 21 June 1751." But *Vir. Vin.* gives 8 July as the date of this capture.

Death of Bakht S. *Vam. Bh.* 3634 (silent as to cause.) Shākir 65 ascribes it to cholera. *TAH.* 43*b* says that he was seized with vomiting on 21 Sep. 1752, and died after a few days. *Vir Vinod* gives 21 Sep. as the date and records the tradition that he was poisoned by Mādho S. Diyālji's *Kiyant* gives the date as 26 Aug., but is silent about the cause of his death. [*Bikanir Gaz.* 1874, p. 54].

deprived of his capital and throne in 1729. The Marāthas had conquered Bundi back for Budh Singh in April 1734, but immediately after their departure, Jai Singh had wrested it from Budh Singh's agent and restored it to his *protege* When Jai Singh died (21 Sep 1743), the dispossesed heir of Bundi, then in his 15th year, rose to recover his patrimony Durjan Sāl, the Mahārāo of Kotā (*r* 1723-1757), very generously befriended the fugitive Ummed

On 10th July 1744, a Hādā army well provided with artillery, laid siege to Bundi, which was held by a *qiladār* from Jaipur Fakhruddaulah, the newly appointed *subahdār* of Gujrat, was then making a pilgrimage at Ajmir on his way to his viceroyalty. He was hired by Durjan Sal's *senāpati* Govindrām Nāgar for a *lakh* of Rupees to lend the support of his own troops in the attack on Bundi Bundi was stormed by the besiegers on 28th July. The defeated Dalil Singh fell back on Tārāgarh, but continued to offer a stubborn resistance from that fort Ishwari Singh had hurriedly sent an army to his support. But though Govindrām was kiled, Fakhr-ud-daulah routed, and Ummed himself wounded, the campaign went against the Jaipur party, Dalil Singh had to remove with his family to Nenvé and Ummed occupied all the Bundi territory. [*Vam Bh* 3354-3361 ]

Ishwari Singh was soon afterwards summoned to Delhi by the Emperor and had to put off the recovery of Bundi For the projected campaign he sent his agent (Rajah Ayā Mal Khatri) and secured Marātha aid Ummed Singh also beat about for allies, he went to Ajmir and there met Abhay Singh He found another friend in Mahārānā Jagat Singh, whose aim was to secure the Jaipur throne for his nephew Mādho Singh, for which object he promised 20 *lakhs* of Rupees to Malhar Rao Holkar The Mewār envoy exchanged turbans with Jayāpā Sindhia and made a treaty for concerted action with him But Ishwari Singh's clever agent Ayā Mal, dissolved this alliance, evidently by bidding higher, and secured for his master the aid of all the Marātha generals except Malhar

Ayā Mal, with a large force of Marātha allies, returned to Jaipur On the way, he bombarded Kotā and plundered much of its territory for being his enemy's chief supporter (end

of January, 1745.) Meantime, the Mewar army had marched into Jaipur territory and halted at Todā waiting for Holkar. Here Ayā Mal's Marātha associates surprised the Mahārāna's camp at midnight, fired into it, and put the Mewār troops to flight at the return of daylight. The Mahārānā could escape only by promising to pay 22 *lakhs*. The victorious Ishwari Singh marched on Bundi, which was surrendered by its Kotā *qiladār*. A large Marātha army, guided by a Jaipur baron, then attacked Kotā and bombarded it for two months, during which Jayāpā received a bullet wound in his arm. At last Durjan Sāl saved his capital by ceding the fort and district of Kāprām to the Marathas, to be divided into three shares and held for Holkar, Sindhia and the Peshwā. (early April 1745.) [*Vam. Bh.* 3374-3384.]

The Marātha generals having left the ring clear, Ummed Singh with a gift of 16 *lakhs* from Durjan Sāl raised a fresh army and again advanced upon Bundi, defended by Nandrām Khatri, a Jaipur officer. On 20th July 1745, Nandrām opposed him at Bichodi, but after a severe contest was forced to retire, when Ummed gained Bundi. But the victor held the city for 16 days only, because on 6th August, a superior Jaipur army defeated him at Devpur and the Jaipur general re-entered Bundi. Ummed wandered for some time after as a homeless refugee. His patron Durjan Sāl met the Mahārānā and Mādho Singh at Nāthdwārā on 4th October 1746; the three confederates sent *wakils* to hire a Marātha army against Jaipur; but the attempt of the allies failed at Rājmahal (1 March 1747), where Ummed shared the defeat of his friends. The second half of that year saw a drawn battle between Jaipur and the Hādās, after which Ishwari Singh went to Bundi (17th August) and passed some months there. Towards the end of the year he had to leave for Delhi at the Emperor's call to meet the Abdāli invasion* and did not return to his State before the end of March 1748.

## § 14. *Ummed Singh as Rajah of Bundi*

In the battle of Bagru (1-7 August 1748), Ummed Singh was present on the side of Mādho Singh and shared the fruits

* *Vam. Bh.*, 3384-3414, 3455-3475

of his patron's victory From Bagru the victors went to Pushkar, where Malhar and Abhay Singh exchanged turbans in sign of brotherhood and cemented their friendship by many a deep carousal together Thence they went to Bundi which was given up by its Jaipur *qiladār* on 18th October 1748, and Ummed was formally enthroned five days later. [*Vam Bh*., 3534-42.]

The long struggle being over at last, the lord of Bundi set himself to settling its long disturbed administration and restoring its economic prosperity But the outlook before him was most dismal. "Ummed [had] regained his patrimony after 14 years of exile. . . . . . But this contest deprived it of many of its ornaments, and, combined with other causes, at length reduced it to its intrinsic worth,—'a heap of cotton'. . Malhar Holkar had the title of *māmu* or [maternal] uncle to young Ummed But . . he did not take his buckler to protect the oppressed at the impulse of chivalrous notions He demanded and obtained by regular deed of surrender the town and district of Patan on the left bank of the Chambal . Ummed felt his energies contracted by the dominant influence and avarice of the insatiable Marāthas through whose means he [had] recovered his capital" [Tod, ii Haravati, ch 4]

So in August 1749, Ummed Singh set out for the Deccan, evidently to plead his cause in person at the Marātha Court and attempt to get some relief from their harsh exactions At Bāfgāon in Khāndesh, the old home of the Holkars, he was welcomed (second half of October) by Khandé Rao in the absence of his father Malhar, then at Punā. Malhar returned shortly after and celebrated his daughter's marriage, at which Ummed as a "nephew" by adoption made costly presents Then on hearing of Rājah Shāhu's death (15 Dec), both Malhar and Ummed hastened to Satara, where the Rajput prince witnessed the coronation of the new king Rāmrājah and the contest and subsequent reconciliation between the Peshwā and Raghuji Bhonslé He finally returned to his own capital on 12th July, 1750 Five months later, when Malhar was at the gate of Jaipur, Ummed Singh joined him there and acted as a mediator between him and the Kachhwās. [*Vam. Bh.*, 3587-'88, 3603, 3613-'22.]

Ummed Singh had promised the Marāthas ten *lakhs* of Rupees as the price of their support. Out of this, two *lakhs* were paid in 1749, another instalment of three *lakhs* was assigned by the Marātha Rajah on 18 June 1751 to Malhar and Jayāpā in equal parts on realisation, while the balance of five *lakhs* was ordered to be paid into the Satara treasury. In addition, the *chauth* of Bundi, Nenve, and other places was farmed to Malhar and Jayāpā from June 1751 onwards, for a fixed sum of Rs. 75,000 payable annually to the Rajah of Sātārā. [*Vad.* iii. pp. 143 and 129.]

## CHAPTER VIII

### AHMAD SHAH'S REIGN, EVENTS UP TO 1752

### § 1 *Emperor Ahmad Shah; his character*

Ahmad Shah, the only son of Muhammad Shah, did no doubt come to the throne of Delhi on 18th April 1748, at the age of 22 years; but his education had been totally neglected. His suspicious and miserly father had kept him confined in one corner of the Delhi palace and stinted him shamefully. Young Ahmad did not receive any training in war or government, he had never been placed in charge of a contingent of his own as royal heirs before him used to be, he had not even been given a sufficient allowance to live in ordinary comfort nor permitted to enjoy the usual games and amusements of princes, such as polo, animal combats and hunting. The result was that his natural dulness of intellect was not cured by education, and he grew to manhood as a good-natured imbecile, without a personality of his own and entirely dominated by others. Not only had he been denied any schooling in his early life, but he had received the worst possible training for a ruler of men. "From his infancy to the age of 21 (the time of his accession), he had been brought up among the women of the harem, in neglect and poverty and often subjected to his father's brow-beating." Totally ignorant of administration and war alike, when he succeeded to the throne unbridled power had its natural effect on such a raw youth. He was immediately surrounded by base instruments of pleasure, who placed every temptation before him, to which he only too readily yielded, neglecting his duty to his realm and to society. Thus responsibility could not call forth any capacity latent in him, but only revealed to the public his defects of character in the ugliest light. He practically resigned his royal function to the superintendent of his harem, Jāvid Khan, and openly referred all questions and suitors to that eunuch for decision, while he himself plunged into sensual pleasure without check or distraction. Jāvid Khan, on his part, encouraged the unhappy youth to drink wine and filled his harem with women. With these debased women came equally debased men whose only business was to

humour his passions and fancies "Gradually the Emperor's mind inclined to the society of vulgar persons (only), and he practised evil deeds which made him a shame to the country"

The moral decline went on with increasing speed till at the end of the second year of his reign we find that "the administration had grown very weak and degraded, the pillars of the State were daily shaken, the Emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury,—the three foundations of an empire Jāvid Khan, who had usurped the entire control of the State, governed according to his (poor) natural capacity, assuring the Emperor that everything was being done according to the regulations, so that the Emperor withdrew his hand even from what (little) he formerly used to look after He became so absorbed in pleasure that a whole *kos* (an area of four square miles) was turned into a women's preserve by excluding all males from it, and there the Emperor used to disport himself in female company for a week or a month in bower and park"

In the midst of the ennui caused by sensual excess, he used to seek diversion in childish acts of sovereignty For instance, we read that one day in February 1753, he took his infant son Mahmud Shah with himself to a bed of narcissus flowers in bloom in the plain below the window of morning salute, and summoning all the little sons of the nobles and other courtiers who had the *entree*, made them present *nazars* to the prince and follow in his train! Then he took the child with himself to the balconies of the Queen-mother and Malikā-i-Zamāni and made him formally *salām* them from outside, as the Emperors used to do Next, he seated the infant on a royal cushion in a diminutive tent newly made for him, sent the nobles' sons to stand round him, and himself went to visit this juvenile Court. The royal infant's eunuchs welcomed the Emperor on the way and offered him presents in the name of their master! After this, we need not wonder that in November 1753 he thought fit to appoint this son

* *T.Ah*, 13b-14a, 21a, 25a, *Siyar*, iii 27 Major Polier wrote from Delhi in 1777,—Prince Ahmad after his succession to the throne, 'gave himself up entirely to the drinking of wine, *bhang charas*, and other intoxicating liquors, and left an eunuch, the gallant of his mother, the sole disposer of every thing' [*As Annual Register* for 1800, Mis Tr. p. 40]

(a boy in his third year) as governor of the Panjab, and in perfect keeping with this spirit nominated a baby one year old as the deputy under him, and that the prince toddled up to the *Diwān-i-Khās* and made his bow of thanksoffering in full Court, while baby-clothes made of cloth of gold were sent to his juvenile deputy at Lāhor, or that the equally important charge of Kashmir, then threatened with invasion by the Abdāli general Jahān Khan, was conferred on a still smaller prince Tāla Sa'id Shah (one year old) as absentee *subahdār*, with a lad of fifteen (another Court favourite) as the *nāib nāzim* Even his Court annalist is constrained to say that these acts only showed the Emperor's lack of sense. [*TAh* 46*b*, 85*b*, 86*a* ]

Occasionally a flash of anger would lend life and colour to his speech, as during the rebellion of Safdar Jang, but it ended only in words Ahmad totally lacked the martial spirit, the capacity to lead armies, and even personal courage He could not be persuaded to come out of the safety and seclusion of his palace-fort and show himself at the head of his troops, even when his very life and throne demanded that he should thus hearten his supporters and confound the rebels. The imperial army clamoured under his window urging him to lead them forth in a campaign for wresting the lost provinces from usurpers, so that revenue might again come to the Delhi Exchequer and the starving soldiery and servants of the royal household might get their long arrears of salary. But he would not agree to it His panic flight from Sikandrabad abandoning all the women of his family to captivity and possible dishonour, at a mere demonstration by the Marāthas, has branded his name with infamy in Indian history for all time [*TAh.* 66*b*, 117*a* ]

In the last two or three years of his reign, he devoted himself to personally transacting business of State for full six hours every morning, without a respite for eating or drinking He read the news-reports received from all four quarters, wrote replies on the despatches of the *subahdārs*, heard petitions of complaint, inspected the muster-rolls of the troops, and wrote full orders on the revenue or administrative cases, clearly summarising the contents of these papers and the details of his decision. But his energy bore no fruit from his lack of practical knowledge, driving power and persistency of effort The self-willed youth of 25

would listen to nobody's counsel, but gave his orders with the unreasoning obstinacy of an autocrat, and these were never translated into action The actual administration did not show the least improvement for all this activity in the closet The fixed period of business being over, he withdrew himself from the sight of men for the next 18 hours, the women in his harem and secluded parks monopolised him, and he would refuse a hearing even to his highest minister during this daily eclipse of monarchy, saying with irritation, "I personally devote myself to the administration every day up to noon, besides holding *darbār* on fixed occasions I am now engaged in refreshing my spirits and you have come to trouble me No noble should visit me except during the prescribed six hours in the forenoon and the *darbār* days, unless I summon him for some special purpose"*

## § 2 *Queen-mother Udham Bai.*

The Queen-mother Udham Bai, formerly a public dancing girl, had been introduced to Muhammad Shah's notice by Khadijā Khānam, the daughter of Amir Khan, and had so fascinated that Emperor as to be raised to the dignity of a queen Neither her humble bith and ignoble profession, nor her later life in the royal harem had fitted her to play worthily the part of the veiled power behind the throne, in which so many queens of Muslim India have distinguished themselves She remained the same vulgar woman of loose character to the end, using her son's elevation as a lever for asserting her own greatness at Court and for grasping at money. She had fallen under royal disfavour and even persecution for her conduct during the latter days of her wedded life, and she now took her revenge by heaping scorn, humiliation and poverty upon her former rivals, the nobly born widows of Muhammad Shah,—Malikā-i-Zamāni and Sāhibā Mahal, who were universally honoured in Delhi society There were two

* *TAh*, 101 *b*, 115 *a* I cannot understand this author's remark that "though the Emperor on account of his youth had a pleasure-loving temperament, he possessed perfect intelligence and readiness of reply" or that "no man was more learned than the Emperor" (illustrated by the fact of his writing in his own hand a letter in Turki) *TAh*. 103*a*, 104*b*. If he really possessed such brain power it was completely neutralised by his utter incapacity for action and for judging character and choosing proper agents

redeeming traits in her character, namely her blind animal affection for her son and her extensive unselfish charity, by which the nephews and grandsons of former Emperors, pining in neglect and abject poverty in the Delhi palace, as well as many poor people living outside were enabled to enjoy comfort and decency [*TAh* 16]

She had not the sense to choose capable instruments and govern through them, but thought of rivalling Nur Jahān by tranascting State business in person "Daily the high officers used to go and sit down at her porch (*deorhi*) and she used to hold discussions with them from behind a screen (through the medium of eunuchs), all petitions (*mutālib*) of the realm and closed envelopes that were sent into the harem were read out to her and she passed orders on them, which were final" The result can be inferred from the Court historian's pious lament, "O God! that the affairs of Hindustan should be conducted by a woman so foolish as this" But what outraged public sentiment and lowered the imperial prestige most was her intimacy with the eunuch Jāvid Khān, who even went so far as to pass his nights in the imperial harem, in defiance of the long-standing palace rules The scandal became so notorious that the royal guards who were starving from their salaries remaining unpaid for more than a year and could get no relief from the Emperor or the Emperor's controllers, at last staged a scene They tied up a young ass and a bitch at the palace gate and when the nobles and other courtiers came to attend the darbār, they audaciously urged them, saying, "First make your bow to these This one (pointing to the ass) is the Nawab Bahādur, and that (the bitch) is Hazrat Qudsia, the Queen-mother"!*

At a time when the soldiers were daily mutinying for their long overdue pay and the Government could not raise even two *lakhs* by selling the palace plate, Udham Bai committed the criminal folly of spending two *krores* in celebrating her birthday, 21st January 1754 [*TAh*. 108]

* *TAh* 45*b* *Shākir* 34-35 Well might this generous and loyal hereditary servant of the Crown cry out in the agony of his heart after narrating this incident, "Great God! the people have utterly lost all fear of their sovereign and regard for decency"

After her son's accession, Udham Bai was successively given the titles of *Bai-ju Sāhiba, Nawāb Qudsia, Sāhiba-uz-zamani, Sāhibju Sāhiba, Hazrat,* and *Qibla-i-Alam* A *mansab* of 500,000 horse (nominal rank) was conferred upon her, and her birthday used to be celebrated with greater pomp and lavishness of expenditure than that of the Emperor himself Her brother, Man Khan, hitherto a vagabond haunting the lanes and occasionally following the despicable profession of a male dancer behind singing girls, was created a *6-hazāri* peer with the title of Mutaqad-ud-daulah Bahādur [*I.Ah* 16a, 17a, *Ch Gul* 400a ]

§ 3 *Javid Khan, eunuch, all-powerful*

Jāvid Khan had been assistant controller of the harem servants and manager of the Begams' estates during the late reign He had established complete sway over the mind and body of Udham Bāi even before her husband's death And now at the accession of her son, Jāvid's advance was rapid and boundless This Indian Mazarin was at once created a *6-hazāri*, and to save appearances the same high rank was conferred upon his chief, Roz-āfzun Khān, the *nāzir* or superintendent of the harem, a survivor of the age of Aurangzib, who was now well-stricken in years and unable to use his feet for weakness and rheumatism But all real power passed into Jāvid's hands, who was appointed (on 19th June 1748) superintendent of the Privy Council (*Diwān-i-khās*), above the heads of the hereditary peers By virtue of this office, audience with the Emperor rested entirely in his hands, and he could perpetuate his sway over his master by shutting out honest counsellors Pluralities continued to be showered upon him he was given the charge of the intelligence department, the imperial elephants, the confirmation of grants and appointments (*arz-i-mukarrar*), the estates of the Begams and the Emperor's privy purse [*T.Ah* 14b, *D C*, Shākir 63 ]

By reason of his being constantly with the Emperor in the harem, Jāvid Khan impressed that simpleton with a great idea of his wisdom, knowledge of administration and devotion to his person. All power pased into this eunuch's hands as the Emperor sank deeper and deeper into vice and indolence. After a time the youthful Emperor publicly referred all State questions to Jāvid Khan for decision, while he himself took refuge in the

harem. The favourite was now promoted to a *7-hazāri mansab*, given the title of Nawāb Bahādur (the Emperor's Vicar), and rewarded with the highest possible insignia of honour, namely the *māhi-o-marātib*, standard, banner, kettledrums and a fringed *palki* "No eunuch had ever been so exalted before, and no noble had been given the title of Nawāb [at Court]" Well might a Delhi historian of the time reflect with sadness, "Never since Timur's time had a eunuch exercised such power in the State; hence the Government became unsettled The hereditary peers felt humiliated by having to make their petitions through a slave and to pay court to him before any affair of State could be transacted" [*Ch Gulz.* 399*b*, *TAh* 15*a*, 14*b*, 25*a*]

Jāvid Khan, though now fifty years old, was absolutely illiterate He had never held any administrative charge, nor seen a battle in all his life, and yet he now began to decide all questions of war and peace, revenue and organisation as the supreme authority * Abyssinian and Turkish slaves had displayed the highest military and administrative capacity in the long roll of Muslim history in India But Jāvid was not of that breed His vulgar ambition was to acquire supreme influence by pandering to the Emperor's vices and humouring the Queen-mother, and to use that influence to enrich himself. He assigned to himself the most lucrative jagirs and also appropriated the revenue collection that ought to have gone to feed the Emperor's houseohld and army. His good word in the Emperor's ears was purchased by suitors for *lakhs* of Rupees

The nobles of the realm revolted at the idea of paying their court to a slave and eunuch; the royal ministers felt insulted when the Emperor referred them to this man for orders on their official business. They stood aloof from him in aristocratic contempt. Jāvid Khan returned their hate by heaping neglect and scorn on them, gathering the poor middle-grade nobles round himself, and promoting his own base creatures to dignity and office The result was a complete breach between the young and

* As the author of *TAh* exclaims, "O God! where Emperors personally had fought and wazirs had day and night attended to State business, this eunuch, ignorant of everything, who had never seen a battle in all his life nor even heard [its sound] in his ears, now became sole ruler!" [28*b*]

inexperienced Emperor and the hereditary supporters of the throne [*T.Ah.* 20*b*, 15*b*.]

## § 4. *New official appointments*

There was a new distribution of offices at the accession of the new sovereign. The vacant wazirship was conferred upon Safdar Jang. When the news of the late Emperor's death reached Prince Ahmad's camp at Pānipat, Safdar Jang, then in command of his escort, had improvised a royal umbrella with cloth of gold taken out of robes and banners and held it over the prince's head, crying out "I congratulate your Majesty on becoming Emperor!" and Ahmad had responded with, "I congratulate you on your wazir-ship." But in fear of Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh, Safdar Jang's appointment was kept secret, he did not receive investiture in the official robes of a wazir till 19th June, when the news of the Nizām's death at Burhānpur (on 21st May) reached Delhi, and he first sat in his office and publicly signed papers only on the 20th of June. His son Jalāluddin Haidar was given the Superintendentship of artillery hitherto held by Safdar (6th July.) The Chief Paymastership, rendered vacant by the death of Asaf Jāh was conferred upon Sayyid Salābat Khan Zulfiqār Jang (29th June), who was originally known as Sādāt Khan, being a son of that Sādāt Khan whose daughter Gauhar-un-nisā had been married to Farrukh-siyar* and who had been Mir Atish under that Emperor. The First Bakhshi's post carried with it the title of Amir-ul-umarā. The Second Paymastership was bestowed on Intizām-ud-daulah Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the late wazir Qamruddin and a brother of the Nizām's eldest son's wife. The *Diwāni* of Crownlands was given to Ishaq Khan Najmuddaulah, and the *Sadr*-ship to Abdullah Khan, while

* *M U.* ii. 524-526. The daughter of Farrukh-siyar and Gauhar-un-nisā, named Mālika-uz-zamāni, was the chief wife of Muhammad Shah, while Zulfiqār Jang's own daughter, entitled Sāhiba Mahal, was married to the same Emperor and had a daughter by him named Begam Sāhiba. During the Sarhind campaign, Zulfiqār Jang, then Fourth *bakhshi*, acted as guardian to Prince Ahmad, and that prince after his coronation made him First *bakhshi* and used to address him as *Nānā Bābā* or maternal grand-father, because the childless Mālika-uz-zamāni had brought up the boy Ahmad as her own son. Jāvid Kh. grew jealous of Zulfiqār Jang and contrived to turn the Emperor against him.

S'aduddin Khan continued as Lord High Steward (*Khān-i-sāmān*)

Among the more important provinces Lāhor had been already bestowed upon Muin-ul-mulk, the second son of the late wazir, during the last days of Muhammad Shah The *subahs* of Allahabad and Agra had at first been given to Salābat Khan, and that of Ajmir added to Oudh which Safdar Jang held But it was soon realised that defence required Ajmir to be held by the governor of Agra, while Allahabad was as naturally an adjunct of the province of Oudh, and an exchange of provinces between the two nobles on these lines was made Bengal had long been virtually independent under Alivardi Khan and he was wisely left undisturbed, as also was the Peshwā to whom Mālwa had been assigned in 1741 But a last desperate plan was formed for recovering Gujrāt from Maratha hands by nominating Bakht Singh Rāthor, the bravest Rajput prince then living, as its *subahdār* (29 June) Nothing, however, came of the attempt, his secret agents sent beforehand to the province reported that the situation was hopeless, and he declined the barren honour [*Siyar*, iii 37 *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, ii 374—377]

After keeping the subahdāri of the Deccan in abeyance for a year, the Court in April 1749, formally appointed Nāsir Jang, the second son of Asaf Jāh, to that post, with the title of Nizām-ud-daulah, in succession to his father, as he had already occupied this position on the strength of his presence in the Deccan at the head of an army, while his eldest brother Ghāzi-ud-din had been living at Delhi for the preceding eight years [*Hadiqat-ul-Alam* ii 191]

§ 5 *How the imperial administration broke down*

The prospect after the death of Muhammad Shah became even more gloomy than before That monarch's habitual indolence and neglect of the administration had inevitably brought about military impotence and financial bankruptcy There being no longer any common master to be feared and no protector to be appealed to, each noble took what he could of the public revenue; each zamindar usurped lands in his neighbourhood or levied blackmail on the roads and villages outside his jurisdiction. The Marāthas possessed themselves of the frontier provinces in

the south, while their annual raids into Bengal and Orissa cut off the revenue supply from these provinces after 1746. Thus, the treasury became empty and the most abject poverty and distress subjected the Emperor and his family to public humiliation

The mischief worked in a vicious circle. The paralysis of the central authority led to the loss by conquest or independence of the provinces, whose revenue had hitherto fed the Court and its army The stoppage of the regular revenue made it impossible to pay the soldiers or replenish their equipment and munitions for fitting out any expedition. Therefore, no attempt could be made to subdue any of the revolted governors or usurping zamindars and exact the dues of Government from them Time only intensified the bankruptcy of the Court Then followed a mad scramble among the powerful ministers and favourite Begams to take for themselves the most fertile and easy-to-administer jāgirs and the best revenue-yielding market towns and similar rich sources of taxation That famous fiscal milch-cow of the 17th century, the customs of the royal port of Surat, had been long lost to the empire, but the grain-markets near the capital still yielded a sure and large income, while the Jamunā canals brought a clear gain of 25 lakhs a year to their superintendent. [Safdar Jang enjoyed this last *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800, Misc Tracts, 37, Polier's letter ]

Usually the best and quietest villages were set apart for the Crownlands (*Khālsa*) and the estates of the Emperor's privy purse (*sarf-i-khās* ) The very life and sustenance of the Emperor and his household depended upon this source. But in this reign all-powerful nobles like Jāvid Khan and Safdar Jang,—and in the last year Imād-ul-mulk,—began to misappropriate the revenue collected in these places, leaving only a pittance for the Emperor; they even sent their agents there to plunder the peasants and traders, so that even this last source of revenue was cut off, and the Emperor, his family and his personal servants and guards were faced with starvation Each noble clung to his immediate gain without a thought for the country or his own future. The provincial governors, who were now sovereigns within their own limits, lived in opulence and independence. All but three of the nobles attached to the Court or living in the capital without

employment found the regular income from their estates stopped, they soon spent all their savings and thereafter lived in poverty, dismissing all their soldiers and servants The three fortunate exceptions were Jāvid Khan, Safdar Jang, and Zulfiqār Jang, whose political predominance ensured to them adequate incomes and strong contingents of troops The last-named, however reduced himself to beggary by his ruinous Rajput expedition of 1750 The result was that the armed strength of the empire was annihilated for all practical purposes by this wholesale disbandment in the case of most, and hopeless arrears of salary in the case of the few that were retained to guard the palace and man the artillery at the capital *

The insolvency of the imperial Government made it impossible for it pay the soldiers, whose salary fell into arrears for 14, 18, and finally 36 months The starving troops mutinied and made riotous disturbances in the streets of Delhi, attacking the military paymasters and blocking the gates of the palace or the ministers' mansions so as to prevent ingress and egress and reduce the inmates to starvation After the death of Amir Khan, his contingent, whose pay was due for 14tth months, assembled at his gate and prevented his burial for four days, till their claims were satisfied The monotonous tale of such riots by one or other class of soldiers in almost every month, with its sickening details, runs through the entire history of the reign of Ahmad Shah written by a loyal courtier and the terse *Delhi Chronicle* Shākir Khan of Pānipat, a devoted hereditary servant of the house of Bābur, thus describes the tragic situation·

"After Ahmad Shah's accession, in the course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all articles in the imperial stores,—the arms, carpets, cooking utensils and dinner plate, books and band-instruments, and of every other *kār-khānah*, —was prepared and these articles were sold to the shop-keepers and pedlars, and most of the money thus realised was spent in paying the troops. This opened the door to the most unseemly and unspeakable mockery and insult by the public. . Opulence was turned into distress The Central Asian (*vilāyati*) soldiers and the Emperor's household troops forcibly carried off the

* Shākir, 35 *TAh.* 14*b*, 20*b*, 21*a*.

valuable articles of all kinds from the houses of *wazirs*, *amirs*, *sahus*, traders and artisans, to the shops [and sold them], thus reducing the nobles to disgrace. The *amirs* had no help but to wear only the clothes they stood in and to eat off earthen plate . . When the Emperor ordered an inquiry, it was found that the soldiers' salary was three years in arrears. What chance was there of a farthing remaining in the Treasury? It became a reign of petty tribal chiefs' (*muluk-ut-tawāif*), [Shākir, 34.]

§ 6. *Safdar Jang wazir his rivals and enemies*

Such a State could have been saved only by a wazir of Bismarckian capacity and dictatorial power. But Safdar Jang had neither. Indeed, his position was one of unusual difficulty. He was a foreign-born adventurer whose uncle had been the first of the family to enter the service of Delhi and he could not establish aristocratic connections and local influence in the course of one generation. Safdar Jang was considered an interloper by the old nobility whose pedigree went back to the reign of Aurangzib or even earlier. Public offices had now come to be regarded as the heritable property of their holders' families, apart from any consideration of ability or training or selection by the master,—the surest sign of political decadence. The late wazir Qamruddin's son, Intizām-ud-daulah, regarded Safdar Jang as having robbed him of his father's legacy, the imperial chancellorship. Intizām's sister had been married to Ghāziuddin, the eldest son of the Nizām Asaf Jāh, besides which the the great-grandfathers of these two nobles had been full brothers. They therefore formed a closely knit family interest of the greatest prestige and power in the State. The Nizām's son had, in addition, a grievance of his own. His father had held the office of Mir Bakhshi (from 1739 to his death in 1748) and he looked upon it as his birthright. The appointment of an outsider, Salābat Khan (a friend of Safdar Jang), to that post after the Nizām's death was resented as an act of dispossession![1]

This clash of personal interests was aggravated by a racial antagonism. The Nizām, the late wazir Qamruddin, and Zakariyā Khan (the late viceroy of the Panjab) were all Turks

from Central Asia (Ahrār) and closely linked together by repeated inter-marriages They recruited their retainers in Central Asia and from Turks settled in India. Safdar, on the other hand, was a Persian and gathered round himself only Persians, such as the ex-soldiers of Nādir Shah and Irāni immigrants (genuine or pretended) into India

Religious difference further embittered the antagonism between the two parties. Safdar Jang was a Shia This sect, in spite of the superior general intelligence and polished manners of the Persians, forms a very small minority among the Indian Muslims Though the Persians are usually very good in revenue management, secretariat work and the civil administration, they lack the tough fighting capacity and power of commanding, controlling and combining subordinates in which the Turks, and even the Abyssinians, as a class often excel.

Moreover, the Shias, partly by reason of the smallness of their number and partly because of their religious and cultural inspiration being derived exclusively from Persia, tend to form a class apart and to isolate themselves from the rest of the Islamic community. This isolation is intensified by their love of inbreeding or restriction of marriage, and often of social intercourse too, within their own sect and even to Persians by race This spirit of racial and cultural aloofness has stood in the way of their absorbing other Islamic races and Indian converts to Islam by a rough and ready process of assimilation such as the Sunnis have everywhere adopted A wide gulf separates the specific local Shia settlements in India from the vast and ever-growing mass of Indian Islam. The Turks, being Sunnis, have more readily amalgamated with the Indian Muhammadans,—and the Abyssinians in the the Deccan,—by marriage and social communion and been able to enlist their support in strengthening their position * This inherent weakness of the Shia position in India, as contrasted with the Sunni, proved fatal to the ambition of Safdar Jang to rule the empire of Delhi as a dominant wazir, overriding the other nobles and the Emperor.

* Ghulām Ali adds that the Hindu Rajahs sided with the Turani or Sunni party because they found that in Hindustan all the Muslim chiefs were and had been Sunnis. [*Imād*, 60]

Small as is the proportion of the Shias to Indian Islam, Safdar Jang could rally round himself only a fraction of this fraction Most of the Indian Shias stood aloof from him in unconcern They resented the superior and scornful airs which the Persians assume towards other races even of their own creed. The mocking tongue and mordant wit of the native Persians are unrivalled elsewhere in Asia, as many anecdotes of Aurangzib illustrate They scoffed at the Indian Muhammadans' manners as clownish and their Persian idiom as barbarous. Hence, Safdar Jang's clientele formed only a very small minority of Muslim India

### § 7 *Court conspiracies for overthrowing Safdar Jang*

Safdar Jang had been appointed wazir, but his position was one more of weakness and danger than of power Any attempt on his part to exert his legitimate control on the administration as the first servant of the State would antagonise Jāvid Khan, the real power behind the throne But a more immediate and persistent danger sprang from the ill-concealed hostility of the sons of the late wazir Qamruddin Their own resources were inadequate for ousting him from the chancellorship Intizām was as yet only second Bakhshi, and Muin had his hands full in the Panjab with the Abdāli threatening him from outside and the Sikhs from within So their only hope lay in their cousin Nāsir Jang, the heir of the Nizām

The fickle brainless Emperor was soon induced to take a dislike to Safdar Jang At the instigation of Jāvid Khan he wrote a secret letter to Nāsir Jang, inviting him to come to Delhi with a strong force and expel Safdar Jang from his office. The favourite eunuch, who dreaded an able and spirited wazir as the only bar to his own supremacy, also sent a similar message of his own to the Nizām's successor But Nāsir Jang could not start immediately. Preparations for a trial of strength with the wazir of the empire required time and money. The defence and administration of his six Deccan provinces during his absence in the north involved deep planning and careful arrangement, and he had just cause to be anxious about his nephew Hedāyet

Muhiuddin (Muzaffar Jang) who was cherishing designs for the succession to Asaf Jāh It was, therefore, several months before Nāsir Jang could leave his charge, and by 25th May 1749 he had only reached the south bank of the Narmadā at Akbarpur when he received a hurried letter from the Emperor, countermanding his march and ordering him back to the Deccan, of which he was in the same letter formally appointed *subahdār* This sudden reversal of policy needs explanation [*Hadiqat-ul-ālam*, ii 190 ]

Safdar Jang had publicly assumed the wazir's office on 20th June 1748 Within five months of it his enemies struck their first blow at him On 20th November he was returning from the Idgāh* plain after the public prayer and had almost reached the entrance to the vaulted arcade leading to his own residence (once the mansion of Prince Dārā Shukoh) close to the canal in the Nigambodh quarter of the city (north of the modern Calcutta Gate of Delhi Fort), and the holiday crowd in the narrow street had checked his movement, when a sudden discharge of light pieces (*rahkala*), rocket and carbine from a shop on the right hand side struck his cortege His horse and two or three servants riding before him were fatally wounded, Safdar Jang himself fell down but escaped any injury A search revealed that these fire-arms had been planted behind a screen on the projecting terrace of a shop, trained at the level of a rider going through the street below, and their fire had missed the wazir by inches It was the work of a very skilled artilleryist, but he could not be detected in spite of all inquiries The room was found deserted and closed from behind, evidently an instant after the discharge The popular belief was that the miscreant had been set on by Intizām-ud-daulah and afterwards concealed by him Safdar Jang ordered that quarter of the city to be sacked The sparks from the rocket had burnt the thatched roofs of the shops in that street, and now the wazir dismantled all the houses from the steps of the canal to his own mansion Hindu monks had been living on the river bank in this Nigambodh quarter from time immemorial; they were now ejected and the wazir's men took up residence there (*T Ah* 17*b*; *Bayān* 248,

* This plot against Safdar Jang is fully described in the *Tārikh-i-A ali* (O P L ms)

Shākir 71; *Muz* 9, *D C.* But *Siyar Imād* and *Chah Gulz* silent.)

The wazir, in fear of further attempts on his life, gave up attending Court and removed to tents outside the city (25th Nov )

Thus an open breach took place between the Emperor and his prime minister It was during this period that the Court secretly invited Nāsir Jang to come and deliver them That noble outwardly gave it out that he was going to Delhi merely to pay his respects to his new sovereign, but he wrote to his brother Ghāziuddin at Court that his real object was to put the administration of the Empire in order, oust the intruder Safdar Jang, and give the wazir-ship to Intizam-ud-daulah At the same time he tried to humour Safdar Jang by writing to him, "I have only to chastise the Marathas here and then I shall go to Court Do you befriend me and secure my appointment to the subahdāri of the Deccan I only want (in addition) the Chief Paymastership of the Empire which my father held and which Zulfiqār Jang has snatched away from me You and I shall turn with one heart to the regulation of the State Bālāji has seized the Empire, even up to Hindusthan If you rely on him, you will be disappointed He is a great deceiver, he looks to money and nothing else Give me a safeconduct and oaths of assurance from the Court and we two shall unite for punishing Bālāji I am at your orders."

Safdar Jang showed this letter in the original to Hingané, the Maratha envoy to Delhi, who easily exposed Nāsir Jang's double-dealing by revealing what he had written to his elder brother He warned the wazir to be on his guard against the deep machinations of the Turāni party, as this letter was merely a device for estranging Safdar from the Peshwā and then crushing him in his isolation. Safdar Jang needed no such warning, he instinctively knew the Nizāni's family for his mortal enemies On learning that Nāsir Jang had actually started for the north, the wazir took the defensive measure of posting his Maratha allies (Malhar Holkar and Jāyaji Sindhia) in Kotā, to intercept Nāsir Jang and thus prevent the ravages of war from reaching his own subahs north of the Chambal At the same time he sent the following appeal to the Peshwā through Hingané "This is the

time for testing our alliance If you are truly my friend, then your generals ought to oppose Nāsir Jang I am supplying Hingané with funds for equipping an army (of Marathas) and making all arrangements for fighting Nāsir Jang. If the Marathas will not do so, I have 50,000 men under me and shall raise more from all sides" His bold speech and bolder preparations for striking the first blow, effectually cowed the craven Emperor and his eunuch On 7th April 1749, Ahmad Shah taking his mother with him paid a visit to Safdar Jang in his tents and pacified him by this open sign of humility and promises of friendly support, and brought him with himself to the palace. As the price of the reconciliation, he signed a *farmān* ordering Nāsir Jang to turn back immediately on the receipt of the letter, wherever it might find him, while to soothe his feelings he was formally appointed subahdār of the Deccan with the title of *Nizām-ud-daulah* (*SPD* ii 13, 12*e* *Hadiqat-ul-alam*, ii 191, *Bayān* 248, *T Ah* 18*b* 35*b*.)

### § 8 *Downfall of Salābat Khan, Mir Bakhshi.*

A few months after this settlement of dispute, the wazir became deeply entangled in Rohilkhand which kept him busy from November 1749 to September 1750, and again from February 1751 to April 1752. During the second period of his absence from Delhi, he lost his chief supporter at Court. Salābat Khan, the Head Bakhshi, returned from his Rajput expedition at the beginning of November 1750, a ruined man. His huge army of 18,000 men besides a corps of artillery, kept together for a full year, cost him 60 lakhs of Rupees at the lowest estimate, and he had not been able to collect more than five lakhs in cash as contribution from Rajputana As a financial speculation, this adventure had utterly failed His subahdāri of Agra and Ajmer yielded him no revenue, thanks to his fatuous policy of antagonising the Jats, who alone could have kept that region in order. His repeated applications to Government for assistance were shelved by the all-powerful eunuch The imperial treasury had not the means and Jāvid Khan had not the wish to help him out of his difficulties, because he did not owe his appointment to Jāvid Khan's favour, and, as a hereditary peer whose

family had given two daughters and one grand-daughter in wedlock to the Emperors of Delhi, he scorned to pay court to that upstart slave.

His starving soldiers daily dunned him for the arrears of their pay and made his life unbearable. So, in disgust he shut himself up in his mansion, dismissed his retainers and gave up visiting the Court or doing any official work. To his friends' remonstrances he used to reply, "There is no Emperor here. Why should we go to the darbār of a eunuch to be insulted? To whom shall I state my case that I may be heard?" Jāvid Khan represented this speech to the young Emperor and his mother as proof of a plot to set up another prince on the throne. Grown desperate at last, Salābat one day went to the palace and tried to make a personal appeal to the Emperor. The porters, by Jāvid Khan's previous orders, stopped him; and he, growing wilder at this check, burst into abuse of the idiotic Emperor and his base favourite. This was the development that Jāvid Khan had been working up to. Salābat was at once deprived of all his offices, rank and titles (7th June 1751.) His personal estates were confiscated and guns were planted round his house, keeping him a prisoner within it. He sold everything he had and discharged the claims of his soldiery as far as possible, and thereafter lived in utter poverty and seclusion like a darvish. (*T. Ah.* 29*a*-30*a*; *Siyar*, iii. 40, *Muz.* 34.)

Next, by a shrewd stroke of policy, Jāvid Khan caused the Chief Paymastership to be given to Ghāzi-ud-din Khan, with the title of Amir-ul-umarā and the subahdāri of Agra, while his brother-in-law Intizām-ud-daulah was appointed subahdār of Ajmir with the title of Khān-i-Khānān, (7th June 1751). Thus the two heads of the Turāni party were promoted to the highest positions in the State next to the wazir's, to serve as a check on Safdar Jang, at the same time that the wazir's strongest ally was effectually crushed. Jāvid Khan had killed two birds with one shot. The news of the murder of Nāsir Jang (on 5th December, 1750) had reached Delhi on 16th January 1751, and five days later his eldest brother Ghāzi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang had been nominated subahdār of the Deccan with the title of Nizām-ul-mulk. But when he began his southward march, at the first stage, Sarāi Qāzi, six miles outside Delhi, his soldiers in a

body refused to follow him unless their long outstanding salaries were paid up to date He paid them, and for the future offered them a reduction of salary to Rs 30 a month for each trooper or dismissal Most of his men, being inhabitants of Delhi, preferred to resign and stay at home This so fully depleted his strength that he was forced to give up his march and stop there (*T Ah* 29, 36*b*, *Siyar* ii 43, D C *Imād* 61 differs )

### § 9 *Plan for a Maratha subsidiary alliance against the Abdāli*

Ever since the beginning of the Abdāli's attack on Lahor, the Emperor had been sending appeals to his wazir to patch up a treaty with the Ruhelās and hasten back to the defence of Delhi, lest the horrors of Nadir's conquest should be repeated by the new invader from Afghanistan But Safdar Jang after concluding the Ruhelā campaign, dismissed his Maratha allies, and went to his own province of Oudh to restore its administration which had been completely upset by the death of its governor Naval Rāi and the long absence of the subahdār himself in Rohilkhand While the absentee first minister of the realm was thus neglecting his duty to the State and only looking after his private interest in the eastern provinces, Lahor fell to the Afghan on 6th March 1752 and the news of it reached Delhi on the 13th, causing the greatest consternation there Most people sent their women outside the capital, chiefly to Mathurā, which was then in the strong hands of the Jat Rajah; and for some days no grain reached Delhi from the villages The Emperor wrote a most peremptory order of recall to Safdar Jang, urging him to bring a strong Maratha force with him at any price This letter reached Safdar Jang on the 17th, but he took a week's time to start, and sent off messengers for stopping the Maratha army which had by this time reached the bank of the Ganges on its return to Malwa Overtaking it, he arranged for a defensive subsidiary treaty with the Peshwā on the following terms —

(1) The Emperor was to pay the Peshwā fifty lakhs of Rupees for his armed support, out of which thirty lakhs was the price of keeping the Abdāli out. (2) One-fourth of the imperial revenue (*chauth*) in the subahs of the Panjab and Sindh and the

four mahals (Siālkot, Pasrur, Aurangabad, and Gujrat),—the revenue of which mahals had been ceded to Nādir Shah and after him to the Abdali, was now granted to the Marathas for their military expenses. Half the revenue of these places was to be paid into the imperial exchequer for the support of the Emperor and the remaining quarter was to be devoted to paying the contingents of the wazir and Jāvid Khan.

(3) The Peshwa was to be appointed subahdār of Ajmir (including the faujdari of Narnol) and of Agra (including the faujdāri of Mathura and other subdivisions) and entitled to the sanctioned remuneration and customary perquisites of subahdārs and faujdārs.

(4) The Peshwā, through his generals, was to suppress all enemies of the State, foreign invaders and domestic rebels alike, and wrest the lands usurped by local Rajahs and zamindārs and restore them to the imperial officers.

(5) The Peshwā was to govern these subahs exactly in conformity with the established rules of the Empire, respect the rights of all loyal jagirdārs and officers, and never grasp any land or money not thus specifically granted to him. Nor should he interfere with the law-courts and forts directly under the imperial Government within the subahs thus assigned to him. Of the lands recovered from usurpers and revenue-defaulters, the Marathas were to get one-half to meet the expenses of conquest.

(6) The Maratha generals were to attend at the imperial Court like other high mansabdārs and to join in the campaigns of the imperial army.

To save the face of the Emperor, a solemn undertaking on the above terms, calling upon all the Hindu gods to attest the fidelity of the signatories, was presented to the Emperor by Malhar Holkar and Jayaji Sindhia on behalf of the Peshwā, and thereupon the Emperor issued a gracious *farmān* granting the prayer and recounting all the clauses of the undertaking in its preamble. (Rajwadé, i. 1).

For meeting the Afghan menace, Safdar Jang advocated the plan of placing the Marathas practically in possession of the

north-western frontier province though under the Emperor's suzerainty, so that it would be their interest to resist the Abdālī, and the Emperor would be relieved of the task of defending it. This was an anticipation of the policy which Wellesley adopted when he made the English hold the ceded districts along the western border of Oudh, so as to face Sindhia's dominions and bar the path of Maratha advance into the Company's territory. Safdar Jang even talked of reconquering Kābul with Maratha help For the defence of the southern frontier he proposed to send Bakht Singh with other Rajput princes to hold the line of the Narmadā against any treacherous Maratha encroachment northwards across that river But his whole scheme was strangled at its birth and the subsidiary treaty with the Peshwā was turned into a scrap of useless paper by the formal surrender of the Panjab and Sindh to the Abdālī by the craven Emperor during Safdar Jang's absence and the departure of the Afghan envoy Qalandar Beg Khan with an imperial rescript embodying the surrender only twelve days before Safdar Jang's return. The wazir's partisans threw the responsibility for this cowardly submission on Jāvid Khan, who was the Emperor's sole adviser at the time, but the blame must be shared in a still greater degree by Safdar Jang, who did not care to come to Delhi with the speed that the critical situation of the capital demanded, but most unreasonably delayed on the way, leaving the Emperor and the city of Delhi absolutely undefended and helpless in the event of a cavalry dash by the victorious Abdālī from Lahor. (*T Ah.* 33*b*, Shākir 65)

Safdar Jang had started from Oudh on 24th March, but he took 34 days to reach Delhi In view of the imminence of the crisis at the capital this snail-slow movement over a road which fast couriers covered in four days only, had but one explanation He rejoiced to see the late wazir's viceroy-son entirely crushed in the Panjab and thus to have one head of the Turāni party the less to dread and he deliberately prolonged the imperial Court's agony of terror and suspense in order to enhance his own importance and power there on his return as its sole deliverer. (*T Ah.* 18*b*, 30*b*).

§ 10. *Quarrel between Safdar Jang and Javid Khan about paying subsidy to the Marathas.*

Safdar Jang arrived with a Maratha army of 50,000 men, on the bank of the Jamunā opposite Delhi on 25th April. Next day Jāvid Khan paid him a visit there The wazir wanted to push on to the Panjab with his allies and expel the Afghans; but Jāvid told him that peace had been made already by the cession of that province to the Abdālī Safdar was surprised and angered He had bound himself, by order of the Emperor, to pay the Marathas 50 lakhs of Rupees for the defence of the realm, and he naturally asked how he was to keep this promise This controversy embittered their feelings, and the wazir indignantly refused to enter the city but kept to his tents on the other side of the river.

The Marathas, on not getting their promised subsidy, halted near Delhi Their foraging parties daily spread over the villages for 40 miles round and brought back whatever provisions they could seize "Thousands were ruined by their oppression and the surrounding country was desolated On the west bank of the Jamunā, towards Bādli, Rewāri and other places, not a village remained unplundered'" A great terror hung over the capital itself; so long as the Maratha claims remained unsatisfied, they might any day have broken into the city and helped themselves to its riches, with none to defend it while the exasperated wazir stood aloof Therefore, Jāvid Khan himself opened negotiations with Malhar, who jumped at this chance of a mutual accommodation with the Delhi Government in consequence of an internal revolution in the Maratha State.

This needs explanation. On the death of Nāsir Jang (5th December 1750), the Emperor had appointed his eldest brother Ghāzi-ud-din to the vacant subahdāri of the Deccan (21st January 1751). This selection had been pressed on him by the Peshwā, who had been solicited by Ghāzi-ud-din for his good word with the Emperor, and who now promised Maratha support to the imperial administration in the Deccan if he was made Nizām. Ghāzi-ud-din had been always friendly to the Peshwā and his military incapacity and easy unenterprising character promised to the Marathas the practical domination of Mughal Deccan with

such a man as its nominal viceroy. The new Nizām, however, had not the force necessary for taking possession of his southern charge, and so he delayed starting. A few months later (7th June) he was appointed Mīr Bakhshi and was obliged to stay at Court. He then appointed the Peshwā as his deputy subahdār. But Ghāzi-ud-din's younger brothers living in the Deccan refused to give the Hindu interloper possession of their patrimony, and by influencing Jāvid Khan secured a patent for the deputy subahdār-ship in the name of Salābat Jang, the third son of the late Asaf Jāh.

Bālāji resisted Salābat's agents wherever his forces could reach and a war broke out between them. In this Salābat Jang found an unexpected ally. Shāhu had died on 15 December 1749 and Rāmrājā had succeeded him on the Maratha throne. This imbecile youth was soon overpowered and placed in confinement by the imperious ex-queen Tārā Bāi, who formed a league of the chiefs of the warrior-caste (Marathas) against the usurped domination of the priestly Peshwās. In the civil war that followed, while Bālāji was fighting Dāmāji Gaikwād and his Gujrat army and Raghuji Bhonslé was menacing him from the Berār side, Salābat Jang invaded Maharashtra with his French contingent and forced his way to Punā (Nov. 1751—March 1752). The Peshwā had to patch up a truce and induce the invader to return to Haidarabad.* While Bālāji was being thus hard pressed and his partisans scattered, his devoted follower Malhar Holkar tried to secure relief for him from the side of Delhi. He agreed that if Ghāzi-ud-din himself went to the Deccan as subahdār, the Marathas would totally absolve the imperial Government from its obligation to pay those 50 lakhs and would march away from Delhi with Ghāzi-ud-din. Nay more, they would be satisfied with 30 lakhs only, which would be payable by the new Nizām.

When first appointed subahdār of the Deccan in 1751, Ghāzi-ud-din had been made to promise a huge *peshkash* of 2 krores and 80 lakhs of Rupees, but he could pay only 15 lakhs. In April 1752 when it was settled that he should march to the Deccan escorted by Malhar, the *peshkash* was reduced to a mere

* Full details in *Hadiqat-ul-alam*, ii. 230-233.

promise of 60 lakhs, one half of which he undertook to pay to the Marathas engaged by the wazir in full satisfaction of their claims to expedite the departure of these unwelcome guests. Jāvid Khan paid a few lakhs in cash to Mallar, and so they left the environs of Delhi on 4th May, nine days after their arrival. Peace returned to the capital and the fugitive citizens brought their families back to the city. All these arrangements were done by the eunuch overriding the wazir and even without the wazir's knowledge. Not a pice came to the impoverished imperial exchequer as the succession fee of the richest subahdāri in the Mughal dominions. (*T. Ah.* 33b, 37b; *Siyar*, iii 44 incorrect; *Had-al.* ii 235-236, *Purandar Daftar* i. 228.)

Thus Jāvid Khan was entrenched in permanent opposition to Safdar Jang, spoiling all the plans of the wazir except when heavily bribed to support him. A long series of unfriendly acts had marked the eunuch's attitude towards the wazir. He had secretly invited Nāsir Jang to come and oust Safdar Jang (1748); he had prompted the Emperor to demand Safdar Jang's resignation as a disgraced man after his defeat by Ahmad Bangash (1750), and he had been induced to withdraw the order only by a present of several lakhs of Rupees; he had dismissed Safdar Jang's strongest friend Salābat Khan Mir Bakhshi and promoted his bitterest enemies, the heads of the Turāni party. Every attempt of Safdar to take the Emperor out on campaign and restore the imperial authority in the provinces had been foiled by Jāvid's influence over that foolish youth. The wazir found that owing to his long absences from the Court on the Ruhela campaigns and administrative visits to Oudh, he had been completely effaced and the supreme executive authority in the State and the dominating influence over the Emperor had passed to the eunuch. In short, Safdar Jang felt that he could not function as imperial Chancellor, but had become a nullity and a public scorn because of the malign power behind the throne. And now the affair of Balu Jāt precipitated the storm which had been gathering all these years.

## § 11. *History of Balaram Jat*

Balarām Jāt (popularly called Balu) was the son of a petty revenue-collector (*chaudhuri*) of Faridābād, 18 miles south of

Delhi Supported by his family connection with Badan Singh, the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur, he extended his power by seizing the neighbouring villages and ousting their lawful owners and the local magistrates Such a thorn could not be tolerated in the road between Delhi and Agra So, when Balu Jat's men expelled the imperial outpost at Shamspur, the wazir sent another force there But it was boldly resisted by the Jat, and Safdar Jang himself marched against him. The wazir had only reached Khizirābād (probably on 30 June 1750) when Balarām in terror came and made a humble submission through the Maratha envoy, and was sent back to his home after a few days, on his promising to be the wazir's follower. He built a mud fort and named it Ballabhgarh, (five miles south of Faridabad) and by taking the lease of the revenue-collection of Palwal and Faridābād (which lay in the Nizām's jāgir) soon made himself a district governor and noble (*rāi*) [*T Ah* 22*b*-23*a*; *D C*. But *Chah. Gulz* 402*a* differs. *Delhi Dist. Gazetteer*, 2 ii ]

On 2nd July 1752 when Safdar Jang was removing from his camp across the Jamunā to his mansion in Delhi city, Jāvid Khan issued from the fort and sat down in the Anguri-bāgh garden, expecting Safdar Jang to visit him there on the way and pay his respects, for was he not the Emperor's deputy? But the wazir declined to honour the eunuch in this way and rode straight on to his own house Jāvid, to save his face, called Balu Jat, who happened to be in Delhi at the time, held a Court with him, gave him a robe of honour, and then returned to his quarters in the fort. He had seduced the Jāt from Safdar Jang's side in the meantime. What mischievous instructions Balu now received from the infuriated eunuch we can only guess from his subsequent acts From Delhi Balu went to his home, collected his troops and crossing over to Sikandrābād attacked and expelled the local faujdār, and plundered the city, digging up the floors of the houses. Seizing the local tradesmen, he hung them up and flogged them to extort money. Now, Sikandrābād is only 32 miles from Delhi and belonged to the Emperor's privy purse estate. The aggrieved people sent messengers to Delhi who complained to the Emperor in that night's Court. Safdar who was present asked Jāvid Khan, "If Balu, has been appointed by you as the new faujdār of the place, why is he plundering and slaying the people

there? If he is acting against your wishes, let me go there and punish him" Jāvid replied that he would himself undertake the chastisement of Balu He sent his captain, Narsingh Rai with a small force to Sikandrābād, but this man, instead of attacking Balu, only parleyed with him and let him go away scotfree with his booty and take refuge in the fort of Dankaur (15 miles due east of Ballabhgarh) in Jāvid Khan's jāgir When Ṣafdar Jang's troops arrived there, they found this to be the situation After some fighting with them Balu secured boats in that fort and effected his escape to Ballabhgarh in safety Thus no punishment could be inflicted on the plunderer of the Emperor's personal estate and a place so near the capital The people of Sikandrābād cried for justice, but in vain At this futile end of the campaign, Safdar Jang, in open Court, taxed Jāvid Khan with backing Balu in these evil deeds, and the eunuch hung his head down in silence [*T Ah* 38*a*-40*a* · Shākir, 71 ]

This made the cup of Safdar Jang's indignation boil over Some historians of the time even assert that the Emperor himself was moved by the misery of his direct tenants to send word to Safdar Jang to get rid of the mischievous eunuch But if he really did so, it must have been in a temporary outburst of anger [*Bayān*, 274, *Imād*. 60, *Kh-am*. 85 ]

### § 12 *Murder of Jāvid Khan, 27 Aug 1752*

Safdar Jang called Suraj Mal to Delhi for counsel and assistance. The Jat prince arrived and encamped near Kālkā-pahāri, some six miles from the city With him came an agent of the Jaipur Rajah and Balu Jat, each at the head of a force Jāvid Khan wished that these men should interview him first and negotiate with the Government through him, because in the past they used to solicit his patronage and court his favour But as the wazir was now present at the capital, they did not take the eunuch as their mediator It was then settled that Jāvid Khan should go to the wazir's house and there the two together should grant interviews to Sural Mal and the others and settle their business with the Emperor The 27th of August was fixed for the meeting Jāvid Khan went to Safdar Jang's house early in the day and the two breakfasted together. Suraj Mal came in

the afternoon and the discussion was prolonged After a while Safdar Jang led Jāvid Khan away by the hand to an alcove or bastion of the house and talked with him about Suraj Mal in privacy. Then Muhammad Ali Jārchi and some other Turkish soldiers entered the alcove, the wazir rose up, Muhammad Ali stabbed Jāvid Khan in the liver from behind, crying out, "Take the fruit of your disloyalty," the other men came up and finished the deed of blood. Then they severed his head and flung it amidst the eunuch's retainers sitting down on the ground outside the wazir's mansion, and his trunk on the sandy bank of the river. These men fled away in terror The deed stifled all hostile movements by its very audacity All the stores and treasuries of the murdered man within and outside the fort were sealed up and his various offices were at once taken charge of by the aged superintendent of the harem, Roz-āfzun Khan, and no tumult disturbed Delhi at the time *

The murder of Jāvid Khan was worse than a crime; it was a political blunder. It antagonised the Emperor and his mother and all the imperial household against Safdar Jang beyond hope of reconciliation Worst of all it transferred the leadership of the Court party and the control of the puppet Emperor from the hands of a foolish and timid eunuch to those of a noble of the highest birth and the ablest, most energetic, most farsighted and most ruthlessly ambitious man in the empire, as we shall see in Chapter XI.

* *TAh* 40*a*-41*b*; *Siyar*, iii 45, Shākir 71; *Bayān* 273, *Muz* 60-62 But *Chahār Gul* 408*a* says that there was a terrible tumult and noise in Delhi that evening for six hours after the deed *Muz* 62 admits that such of Jāvid Khan's belongings as had accompanied his *cortege* to Safdar Jang's house were plundered by Mughalia troops and the ruffians of the city. (very probable.) This last author praises Jāvid Khan for his buildings, namely, a mansion on the bank of the Jamunā, the *Matin-i mashab* mosque with gilt domes in front of the fort, a strong wall around the marketplace of Haidarganj, a deep and spacious well (*bāoli*) and a bridge near Haidarganj, and adds.

He is not dead, who leaves behind him on earth
Bridge and church, well and travellers' rest-house

## CHAPTER IX.

### Safdar Jang's contests with the Afghans, 1748—1752

#### § 1 *Ali Muhammad Ruhela's successors*

We have seen in Chapter II how Ali Muhammad Ruhelā had swiftly recovered possession of Rohilkhand in March-April 1748 But he lived to enjoy his triumph for less than six months He was stricken down by cancer in the back and died on the 15th September of the same year Of his six sons, the two eldest, Faizullah and Abdullah, were then being held as captives in Qandahār, whither the Abdālī had sent them after his capture of Sarhind, and the other four were still very young "Summoning, therefore his chiefs around him, he made his will before them His third son Sadullah was to be his successor until, if ever, his elder sons returned Rahmat Khān was to be regent (*hāfiz*) and Dundi Khān commander-in-chief Fatti Khan was to be steward (*khān-i-sāmān*) with the special care of his three younger sons, while Sardār Khan was appointed paymaster of the troops These chiefs were enjoined to consult together when any common danger required their concerted action." (*Bareilly Gazetteer*, 661, *G-i-R* 28). Thus the administration of the vast heritage of Ali Muhammad Ruhela was entrusted to an oligarchy of chiefs and the territory practically partitioned among them. The exile of some and the minority of others of the heirs made this inevitable, if the Afghāns were to save themselves from conquest and expulsion by their hostile and powerful neighbours. "Hāfiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan and others were each the father-in-law of a son of Ali Muhammad and in the names of their sons-in-law divided these conquests of Ali Muhammad among themselves and brought the lands into their own hands Giving a few villages for sustenance to their sons-in-law, they themselves enjoyed the rest in royal pomp" "Sadullah was of so dissipated a character that the whole charge of the revenue and the management of the troops still devolved on Hāfiz." The parganahs of Sambal, Morādābād, Thākurdwārā and Kāshipur were given to Dundi Khan for the support of himself and his

contingent of 12,000 horse and foot. Pilibhit was the centre of Hāfiz's own jagir. Similar grants were made to the other Ruhela *sardars* (*Siyar*, iii 27. The actual partition as made in 1751 is described in *G-i-R*. 45.)

Hāfiz Rahmat Khan (born about 1709) was the grandson of an Afghan priest and saint, settled at Turu Shahāmatpur. His father had once been the master of Dāud, the adoptive father of Ali Muhammad Khan, and Rahmat on migrating to India had become Ali Muhammad's right hand man by reason of his extraordinary intelligence, administrative capacity, inborn military genius and honesty of character. He had promoted his patron's conquests, in the years following Nādir's invasion, at the expense of the Hindu Rajahs and Mughal jāgirdārs. [*G-i-R*. 13-20.]

The death of Ali Muhammad and the exile of his grown-up sons revived Shaikh Qutbuddin's ambition. He bitterly hated the Afghan race as interlopers in his patrimony and longed to oust them and gain the *faujdāri* of Rohilkhand which his grand father had once held. Now was his opportunity. He importuned Intizāmuddaulah (the eldest son of the late wazir Qamruddin), who was officially faujdār of Moradabad, to send him to that district as his deputy to take possession of it. Intizām agreed (*c*. 15 Nov. 1748), but could not help his infatuated agent with the necessary money and materials. However, a number of soldiers joined in the adventure, lured by Qutbuddin's fame as a gallant fighter, and he thus got together a band of some 7,000 men. Crossing the Ganges, he pushed through the Bijnor district towards Moradabad, but at Dhāmpur, 38 miles north-west of that town, he was confronted by a vastly superior Ruhelā army under Dundi Khan with abundance of artillery and munitions. Scornfully rejecting the Afghan proposal to divide the land amicably, Qutbuddin gave them battle but fell in making a desperate charge at the head of a handful of devoted followers. [*Siyar*, iii 28, *Muz*. 36-37, *Bijnor Gaz*. 349.]

### § 2. *Qaim Bangash attacks Ruhelas, battle of Daunri*

This attempt to restore imperial authority in Rohilkhand failed at the beginning of 1749. But for sometime afterwards it could not be renewed, because Safdar Jang, the natural enemy of

the Ruhelas, was then sulking in his tent outside Delhi in resentment at the attempt on his life made in the streets of the capital on the preceding 20th of November, which he ascribed to the Court favourites. The young Emperor had to visit him in his camp in order to placate him (7th April,) and gradually the breach between Emperor and wazir was healed. A new plan was formed by Safdar Jang to suppress the Ruhela usurpers. "He did not like Afghan rule in a district so close to his *subah* . . and looked upon the Ruhelas as serpents infesting his road to Delhi." He planned to uproot one Afghan by means of another, so that whichever side lost, he would have one enemy the less. (Ashub, ii. 425.)

Ali Muhammad was believed to have left fabulous wealth. Safdar Jang appealed to Qāim Khan's cupidity and ambition and sent him an imperial *farmān* appointing him *faujdār* of Rohilkhand. Qāim Khan at first hesitated to accept this dangerous office, but was persuaded by his favourite officer, Mahmud Khan Afridi (the *Bakhshi*.) He sent Muazzam Khan (the brother of his Bakhshi) to the Ruhelā leaders asking them to vacate the imperial territory they had usurped and not to oppose him in taking charge of his office. In return he assured them of the possession of *jāgirs* sufficient to maintain 5,000 soldiers. Hāfiz Rahmat the regent replied that as the Afghāns had conquered the country when the Emperor could not, he would acknowledge no master but the Emperor, and that it would be proper for Qāim Khan to decline the office as his appointment had originated with the wazir who had taken all power out of the Emperor's hands. When Qāim's envoy resorted to high words, he was turned out of Aonla in disgrace. Qāim Khan had sent some flags of his own with orders to set them up in Barily and other towns as badges of his authority, the Ruheās planted them upside down in derision. (*G-i-R.* 29, *Imād.* 44.)

When his insulted messenger returned to Qāim Khan, that noble in anger issued forth to battle. Leaving Farrukhabad on 2nd Nov. 1749, he crossed the Ganges at Qādirganj and marched towards Aonlā. Meantime the Ruhelā army had left Aonlā and formed an entrenched camp near the village of Daunri, four miles

south-east of Budāun city Here Qāim Khan* arrived on the 11th, and rejecting a friendly message of dissuasion which Hafiz Rahmat had sent by three holy Sayyids, he engaged the enemy the next day

The battle began in the morning. Two divisions under Qāim and Muazzam Khan attacked the southern and northern corners of the grove in which the Ruhelās were posted under Dundi Khan and Sadullah Khan respectively At first the assaulting columns, headed by numerous elephants, seemed to carry everything before them Dundi Khan's guns were captured, and that chief had to dismount and lead his men in a hand to hand fight Sadullah was in imminent danger when reinforcements arrived and turned the scale against the invaders, Muazzam Khan and his brother as well as several sons of Muhammad Khan Bangash were shot down Then Qāim Khan himself headed a charge with his lieutenants and Hindu allies, and the Ruhelās gave way, running to a long and deep ravine behind the battlefield, hotly pursued by Qāim Khan and his division It soon became a death-trap for him, for the quick eye of Hāfiz Rahmat had already taken in the situation and planted an ambush there The steep crests of the ravine were covered with thick tall crops of *bajra* (spiked millet) in which 8,000 Afghans were placed, completely concealed from view, their matchlocks loaded and resting on the ground.

The fugitives from the field rushing along the ravine were on foot, the ground was well-known to them. They quickly clambered up the left bank of it like monkeys and disappeared in the plantation on the top The exultant pursuers poured down the narrow pass on their heels and had crossed nearly half of it, when suddenly two broad sheets of flame burst forth from the dense bushes above them, as eight thousand musket balls were poured down into their tumultuous and crowded ranks

* Qāim's army is reported as 60,000 horse and foot, 400 elephants, and a large train of artillery, while the Ruhela force is given as 25,000 strong ([illegible] 10) The numbers appear to be inflated, but at all events Qāim Khan had a decided superiority in numbers and in heavy artillery. The place of battle is called *Daunri* and also "between the villages of Daunri and Rasulpur."

from almost point blank range The leaders, who were riding on elephants and in front, were too conspicuous targets to escape, they were shot down in a few minutes Seizing the confusion, the Afghāns charged down the two banks sword in hand, yelling in triumph The rest was butchery: only the hindmost could escape from that valley of death The other divisions of the invading army fled away on hearing of this disaster to their vanguard

Qāim Khan, shot through the forehead lay dead in his *hāuda.* His driver was leading the elephant out of the field when two Ruhelā troopers overtook it robbed the dead chief of his rich clothes and jewels, and cut off his head The Afghan victory was complete Qāim Khan himself, with several of his brothers and nearly all his captains, had fallen on the field A vast amount of booty with all his guns and elephants fell into the victors' hands The chivalrous Hafiz Rahmat had the head of Qāim Khan sewn on to his trunk, covered the corpse with *shals,* placed it in a *palki*, and sent it with due honour to Farrukhabad for burial He also showed wise moderation in the hour of victory All the possessions of the Bangash house on the left or eastern bank of the Ganges (except three parganahs) were annexed by the Ruhelā regent no doubt, but he dissuaded his victory-flushed clansmen from crossing the river and invading Qāim Khan's territories on its western bank, saying that the Afghāns should not destroy one another by intestine war *

## § 3 *Safdar Jang seizes the Bangash possessions*

Imām Khan, the eleventh son of Muhammad Khan Bangash, was raised to the lordship of Farrukhabad by his mother Bibi Sāhiba, but he had little ability or power The tough old lady also planned to enlist Marātha support by offering a subsidy of 20 lakhs of Rupees to their *sardārs* in Northern India What followed Qāim Khan's death throws a lurid light on the morality of the Delhi Government in that age and explains its downfall as an act of divine justice The wazir, instead of reasserting

* *Imād,* 45, *Mus.* 11, *Bayān* 251-255, *Siyar* iii 29, *G-i-R* 28-31, *Farrukhabad Gaz* 158-171; *Budaun Gaz* 235; *T.Ah.* 22a

his master's authority and avenging the fall of his agent, seized this opportunity of enriching himself at the expense of his helpless dupe He revived the obsolete Mughal practice of escheating the property of dead nobles, and induced the Emperor to order the attachment of Qāim Khan's lands and wealth, as there was none left to defend them Taking the Emperor with him, Safdar Jang marched out of Delhi (29th November 1749) only 17 days after Qāim's death In a few marches Koil (Aligarh) was reached, where he left the Emperor, and then pushed on with his own army to Dariyāganj (in the Etā district), 45 miles n w of Farrukhabad By his order his deputy in Oudh, Rajah Naval Rāi, advanced and occupied Khudāganj, 16 miles s e of Farrukhabad

Qāim's mother opened negotiations with the wazir for saving the Bangash heritage for a price, and herself came to Safdar Jang's camp on 24th December After long discussions, it was finally agreed that on payment of 60 *lakhs* of Rupees, as escheat to the imperial exchequer on account of Qāim Khan's property, all that chieftain's territory would be confirmed to Imām Khan, who would be recognised as the new Nawāb Three-fourths of this succession-fee was paid in cash and kind, and for the balance the Dowager Begam threw the responsibility on Sadullah Khan Ruhelā who had seized Qāim's elephants and camp property at Daunri and from whom the wazir must collect the amount as the price of these spoils

Then Safdar Jang threw off the mask He caused Bibi Sāhiba (Qāim's mother) to be kept in surveillance in his camp, while Naval Rāi advanced and occupied Farrukhabad itself Bibi Sahiba was left to enjoy the revenue of Farrukhabad city and twelve villages - a gift to the family from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar,--but the rest of Muhammad Khan Bangash's extensive domains was annexed to the wazir's territory and placed in charge of Naval Rāi, who made Qanauj his head-quarters. Five of Qāim Khan's brothers were seized and sent to the wazir's fort of Allahabad as prisoners His work done, Safdar Jang returned to Delhi (on 25th May 1750), bringing away under arrest five of the principal slaves and men of business of Qāim Khan.

### § 4. *Afghan popular rising against Safdar Jang; battle of Khudaganj*

All Farrukhabad now lay prostrate at the wazir's feet. But his agents abused their power, and by their greed and insolence galled the spirit of the proud and martial Afghan race, so that in six months Safdar Jang's rule was swept off the country. Qaim's mother was kept in detention at Qanauj for realising the balance of the promised money. She escaped through the devotion of a hereditary clerk (*munshi*) of her husband's house, named Sahib Rai. This man gained a place in Naval Rai's society and got his signature, when deep in his cups, on an order for her release. The time was midnight but the order was immediately presented and the lady was conveyed by fast travel to her own people at Mau Rashidabad. Here she set herself to rouse the Afghans by sending her veil to the headmen of different villages and appealing to their sense of honour and love of liberty.

To the mass of the people, the wazir's rule was already intolerable, and the more so because its agents were the despised Hindus. A police underling of the new governor had an altercation with a woman vendor in the market of Mau, and after the usual exchange of abuse slapped her with his shoes. The aggrieved woman was the widow of an Afridi soldier, she appealed to Ahmad Bangash (a younger brother of Qāim), telling him that it would have been better if he had been born a woman as he was not fit to wear a man's turban when he could not protect his father's subjects from dishonour.*

The population of Farrukhabad was ready for an explosion, it only required a leader to supply the spark. Bibi Sāhiba wisely formed an alliance with her step-son Ahmad and he was accepted as the leader of the Afghan rising, though without money, arms

* It is added by the gossipy Sayyid Ghulām Ali that Ahmad Khan after hearing this reproach in deep mortification at his own powerlessness, spent the next two nights in grieving and the days in fasting and then girt up his loins for redressing the wrongs of his people. (*Imād*, 46.) Fall of Naval Rai—*T. Ah.* 23*b*, 25*b*-26*a*, *Siyar* iii 30-31, *D C* for dates. *G-i-R.* 35-37, *Chahār Gul* 402*b*-403*a* (meagre), *Imād* 45-48, *Bayān* 256-259 *Mus* 44-45, *Far Gaz* 160-163; *S P D* xxi 32 (brief.)

or men Rustam Khan Afridi raised Rs 5,000 by selling his household goods and lent the money to Ahmad. With part of this sum four hundred men were secretly enlisted and armed. Then they committed a night robbery on a rich Hindu banker in a village 32 miles from Mau, killed him and his servants and carried off his wealth, which enabled more Afghāns to be enlisted and fed. Eight days after this feat, Ahmad at the head of 6,000 men recovered Farrukhabad and set out southwards to expel Safdar Jang's men from the rest of his father's jāgir

Naval Rai promptly advanced from Qanauj to meet the oncoming enemy and crush the rising before it could grow to full strength He halted at Khudāganj, just north of the Kāli Nadi and 16 miles south of Farrukhabad, the Afghān camp being some two miles north of him Naval Rāi, a Sāksenā Kāyastha, had risen by his ability in civil administration and management of men from a humble rank to the deputy governorship of Oudh and a position at the right hand of the wazir He was fitted by his character and experience to be a revenue collector rather than the military governor of a district. Though not wanting in personal courage, he had no genius for soldiering, nor training in the handling of armies At Khudāganj he received a letter from Safdar Jang telling him to avoid an engagement pending the arrival of reinforcements then on the way from Delhi. So he took due precautions, posted guards round his camp and his artillery in front, facing the enemy position, and warned his men to remain within their lines and not to fight unless attacked

The news of reinforcements having started from Delhi for the Oudh army reached Ahmad Bangash through a friendly Rajah, and he lost not a day in striking his blow before the enemy's strength was doubled In the dark and rainy night of 1st August, nine thousand Afghān infantry and 2,000 horse stole out of their camp, made a wide detour and attacked Naval Rāi's camp from the rear* which was unprotected by artillery. The Sayyids of Bārha, in charge of the defence here, at first repulsed the attack. "But by threatening suicide Ahmad Khan succeeded in rallying the fugitives, and led them on to a second and more

* The exact spot is said to have been the boundary of the Kaitha and Gangui villages, about a mile west of Khudāganj (*Far. Gaz* 162 n.)

successful attempt They made their way into the camp and threw it into the utmost confusion The night was dark and rainy, and the artillerymen, not knowing where the enemy was, fired off their pieces without doing any execution Meanwhile Naval Rāi, who was deep in his devotions, was forced with some difficulty to mount his elephant The fighting went on in the confusion and darkness till the day broke Naval Rai was shot dead soon after sunrise, and his elephant driver made off with his body across the river to Qanauj The retreat then became general, and many of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to follow their chief's corpse Qanauj was evacuated by the wazir's troops, and occupied by Ahmad Khan An immense amount of booty fell into the hands of the Pathans The result was that "the beggarly and starving Afghans became very rich and owners of property and treasure" (*Ravān*, 259) They crossed the Ganges and looted or occupied many places on its eastern bank or the Oudh side (*Imād*, 48 *Far Gaz* 163)

### § 5 *Safdar Jang's advance against the Afghans*

While the Bangash leader showed such rapidity of decision and promptitude of execution, the wazir had been taking things in a lordly and leisurely fashion He underrated the gravity of the danger and despised his enemies, particularly in the absence of any leader of repute on their side As early as 6th July he had taken public leave of the Emperor at Delhi to go to Farrukhabad, but had thereafter halted for three weeks in a garden outside the capital The first division of his army, under Ismail Beg Khan and Rajah Devidat, began its march on 22nd July, while the wazir himself started on the 25th and moved slowly, doing two days' march in three or four days

Arrived at Mārhara (in the Etā district, 13 miles north-west of Eta city),* at the beginning of August, he heard of the disaster

* *D C* records an intestine fight between Ismail Khan (the slave and most trusted counsellor of Safdar Jang) and Muhammad Ali Khan (a cavalry leader and high general of the wazir) in his camp on 18th December 1749. The English factors of Patna wrote in Dec 1742, "The subah(dār) of Oudh is advancing this way with 40,000 horse . His people commit outrages, and are under no command."

at Khudaganj So a halt of one month was made here in order to call up more troops The state of indiscipline in his army and the cleavage between the population and the soldiery who were to defend them are painfully illustrated by the sack of this loyal village in the wazir's presence "A camel-driver in the service of a Mughal captain (*i e* a Persian-Turk soldier of Safdar Jang) cut down a tree growing before the gate of Ināyet Khan, an officer of the wazir and an inhabitant of this place, who chastised him severely for it That captain sent a party of men to seize Ināyet Khan The other Mughalia troops, imagining that the wazir had ordered a general looting of the village, armed themselves, plundered the village in the evening, and levelled it to the dust Ināyet and his young son were killed besides 58 other people of the village The women of many Saiyyids, Shaikhs, and Kambuhs and other respectable men, as well as of the common people, were dragged away into slavery" (*Siyar*, iii 32, *Khazin-Am* 81)

At last his musters fully made up, Safdar Jang resumed his march on 10th September amidst the hardly suppressed curses of the people of Mārhara, and sighted the enemy, three days afterwards, near Rām Chatāuni, some 22 miles east of Mārhara and 18 miles north of Eta* With him was a vast host of 70 to 80 thousand men, of a very miscellaneous character, mostly raw levies and under no sort of discipline. Nor were the different divisions of this army closely knit together by the watchful activity of one supreme master and the ready co-operation of the sub commanders Safdar Jang had not the royal gift of choosing able agents, nor of following sound advice when given to him He merely tried to bind his soldiery to himself by making lavish gifts of money at his caprice and winking at their plunder of the population, and not by sharing their toils like a comrade and frequently exercising them under his eyes, as

* Seven miles east of *Sahawar* and five miles west of *Patiali* [Irvine in *Far Gaz* 163] *Patiali*, which has given its name to the battle in some old histories, is 22m n e of Eta, 27m due east of *Marehra*, and 42m. n w of Farrukhabad [*Ind At* 68] "*Ram Chatauni* a Hindu shrine and a place of local pilgrimage is quite near the Dandwar Ganj Railway Station and the village of Mohanpur" [A L Srivastava's *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, 159 *n*]

Aurangzib used to do. Arrived now at the height of power, his overweening pride and excessive devotion to pleasure repelled honest and capable counsellors, and he became a mere puppet moved by one or two favourites, especially Ismail Khan, a former slave and now in effect his prime minister and chief manager of affairs. A few high-born nobles followed him loyally out of personal affection or because he was the supreme man of their faith (Shia-ism) in the imperial Government, but they had no effective force under them and were not allowed to guide his military movements or regulate his administration. This disorderly rabble,—without any concerted plan of action, without any real head to control the tide of battle as it changed from hour to hour,—now flung itself on the smaller but more compact Afghān tribal levy, rightly self-confident from an unbroken series of victories and seasoned in manoeuvre and ambuscade in that terrain.

### § 6. *Safdar Jang defeated at Ram Chatāuni*

At three hours after sunrise, on the 13th of September 1750, the wazir's army advanced upon the enemy in the usual formation. The four miles of ground separating the two camps were covered in about two hours and then followed an exchange of gunfire, in which Safdar Jang had a marked superiority in weight of metal. Next his right wing under Suraj Mal Jat and his left under Ismail Beg Khan attacked the Afghāns opposite them with vigour. The fighting here was long and obstinate; the Afghāns resisted to the utmost, and it was only after six thousand of them had fallen, including their commander Rustam Khan Afridi, that the two divisions gave way and were pursued for miles by Ismail Beg and Suraj Mal. Safdar Jang, ignorant or scornful of Afghān war tactics, very unwisely sent up cannon, swivels and rockets with more troops from his side to strengthen the pursuers, as if the entire enemy army had been defeated and it only remained to follow up the victory to the utmost.* The

* Safdar Jang's defeat.—*Siyar* iii 31-34, *T.Ah* 26 *b*, *Bayān* 260-262, *Mus* 46-49, *Chahār Gul*, 403*b*-406*b*, *Imād* 49, Shākir 64, *Farrukhabad Gaz.* 163-164, *G-i-R* 37-39, *Sujān Charitra* iv *Jang* (pp 59-99). *S.P.D.* ii. 20 and 23 (very useful), xxi 36. *Khazinah-i-Amira*, 81-83.

result was that his army became broken up into two parts, separated beyond call, while he the commander-in-chief stood in the field with only a small escort and no artillery around him, and half the Afghan army still unbroken and facing him The battle had to be fought and won yet

Ahmad Bangash, on the other hand, had coolly kept himself on the defensive, and was directing his followers' movements from the centre When he learnt of the rout of his two wings and the fall of Rustam Khan, he concealed the fatal news and shouted out to his own division that Rustam had gained the victory and that the Bangashes must now exert themselves if they were not to be outdone by the Afridis Thus heartened, his men renewed the battle.

The sun had now begun to decline from the meridian It is the habit of India-born soldiers to slacken their efforts about one o'clock in the afternoon and seek refreshments and drink, especially if they have been under arms since the morning A lassitude now fell on the wazir's army The opportunity was not lost by the Afghans. They at once renewed the attack Ahmad himself at the head of 6,000 fresh troops, mostly on foot, advanced under cover of a field of vetch, and suddenly fell upon the wazir's vanguard In the fight that followed Nasiruddin Haidar (son of the wazir's maternal uncle and one of his leading generals) fell. Kāmgār Khan Baluch, another high officer, who commanded a division close to the vanguard, fled away, probably in collusion with the Bangashes.

Then the Persian contingent, which was the backbone of the wazir's army, lost heart, "their feet shook and they thought defeat certain." The van fell into utter confusion and broke up into a disorderly mass of soldiers elephants and driverless carts, which obstructed the ground between the centre and the vanguard. The wazir ordered up reinforcements from the rear, but only three hundred horse, under Muhammad Ali Khan and Sayyid Nurul Hasan Bilgrami could force their way through the crowd to the fighting line. This handful of men could not restore confidence to their vanguard A high wind with dust storm then arose and aggravated the confusion Numbers of the wazir's men began to leave the field. (*Siyar*, iii, 33; *G-i-R*, 38.)

The Oudh vanguard having been thus broken, Ahmad Khan fought his way steadily towards the wazir in the centre. Then followed a period of confused struggle with the initiative entirely in the hands of the Afghāns and heavy odds against the wazir's remaining troops, who had now entirely denuded themselves of artillery. A compact body of Afghan infantry 3,000 strong with a few horsemen behind them, advanced in a wedge-shaped formation upon the wazir's left side. When checked by Muhammad Ali Khan and his musketeers, they wheeled towards the centre. Here the wazir was sitting on his elephant, with only a few staunch followers around him, while the field was covered with scattered groups of his fugitive soldiery. The Afghans fired a volley at the elephant-riders and then rushed upon the wazir's force sword in hand. Safdar Jang's *mahut* was shot dead, and he himself received a bullet in the neck and sank down into his brass-plated *hāuda* in a swoon. The driverless elephant wandered unrecognised by the Afghāns and thus the wazir's life was saved. (*Siyar*, iii. 33.)

The Afghān victory was complete, the Oudh army broke up in utter rout. The victors gave chase for a short distance, and at this time Najmuddaulah Ishaq Khan II, the imperial *diwān* of Crownlands and an intimate kinsman and friend of the wazir, was killed fighting to the last. When surrounded by the enemy he had diverted their attention from the wazir by shouting out that he was Safdar Jang! The wazir's elephant was mounted by Jagat Nārāyan (the younger brother of Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan) and led out of the field into safety.

Accompanied by less than two hundred troopers, the wazir and Muhammad Ali Khan, both wounded, fell back on Marhāra, 22 miles west of the field of battle, and next morning set out for Delhi with some appearance of order and formation among his followers. Much of his property was plundered by his own Mughal troops and the rest by the villagers around. When the victorious right wing of the Oudh army returned from their distant chase of Rustam Khan Afridi's division, they found the battle lost beyond hope of retrieval and their master nowhere to be seen. So, they retreated westwards.

To the Afghāns the victory had come just in time to give them breathing space at the end of a day of long uncertainty and strenuous exertion. One division of their force had been crushed with the loss of some 6000 men and the second-in-command of their entire army The struggle had been so confused that the fulness of the wazir's defeat was known only after the sun had set, so that the victors could not at once reap the full fruits of their success There was, therefore, no pursuit, but the wazir's standing camp was captured by the Afghāns after much of its contents had been looted by his own soldiers and the villagers in the course of that night.

### § 7 *Safdar Jang in disgrace at the imperial Court*

But the cup of Safdar Jang's humiliation was full For the first time in the history of the Mughal empire the grand wazir had been defeated in a pitched battle by an upstart jāgirdār's son and his rustic levies His wound rapidly healed after being cauterized in the night following the battle; but he pursued his way to Delhi sunk in the deepest mortification.* At the first news of his defeat, which rumour had magnified into his death, his enemies at Court headed by Jāvid Khan, the Queen-mother and Intizām-ud-daulah (the late wazir's son), raised their heads, and planned to attach his mansion and property. But they waited for a few days to verify the news In the meantime their evil designs leaked out, and Safdar Jang's wife, a clever and high spirited lady, put her son and household on the guard gathered troops within her mansion, shut the gates and stood ready to defy a siege. Then Safdar Jang arrived

* "The *mahut* took his elephant out of the battlefield and in one day arrived near Koil, about 40 *kos* away Everything had been looted That night the wazir slept on the ground, spreading the housing of his elephant as a bed and eating whatever could be had Next day the fugitives assembled round him On 22 Shawwal [should be 29th Sh = 20 Sep.] he entered his own mansion [in Delhi] without visiting the Emperor For nearly two months he did not come to Court. Then, one day the Emperor, on a visit to a park, passed by the wazir's mansion and the wazir came out and interviewed him The Emperor asked about his health and examined his wound, consoling him. When the wound was healed, the wazir came to Court, in shame and alarm" *TAh* 26b-27a

opposite Delhi (20th September) and was found to be neither dead nor without an army. He sent a warning to Javid Khan saying, "though dead, I am still stronger than any other living man" His enemies quailed before him and offered excuses for their recent conduct

But how was the vanquished wazir to show his face to his master? Tutored by Intizām-ud-daulah, the Emperor sent a message to Safdar Jang, forbidding him the Court on the ground that it was the rule of his dynasty that if a wazir fled from a battle field he must be dismissed and sent into retirement To counteract this move, Safdar Jang promised a bribe of seventy *lakhs* of Rupees to Jāvid Khan, and that all-powerful eunuch turned the Emperor's wrath away and introduced the wazir again to the Court [*Muz* 49, *Siyar* iii 36, *Bayān* 263, *Imād* 50]

Safdar Jang now set himself to devise means of avenging his defeat on the Afghāns For this purpose he could find no better instrument than the Marāthas and Jāts, and negotiations were opened for buying their aid in a new campaign in Rohilkhand.

### § 8 *Bangash invasion of the Lower Doab; siege of Allahabad.*

In the meantime, the battle of Rām Chatāuni had shaken the wazir's rule to its foundations, as all the Doāb east of Delhi and the province of Oudh including the fort of Allahabad now lay defenceless Ahmad Bangash followed up his victory by taking possession of the country from Aligarh to Akbarpur-Shāhpur in the Cawnpur district, and then returned to Farrukhabad, while he sent one army under his son Mahmud to invade Oudh and another under Shādil Khan to conquer the Doāb southwards to Allahabad. His governors occupied Phāphund, Shamsābād and Chhibrāmau Shādil Khan's progress having been stopped by his defeat at the hands of the wazir's local agent Baqāullah Khan near Korā (Fathpur district), Ahmad himself marched with a vast army and laid siege to Allahabad [*Far. Gaz.* 164-165.]

This redoubtable fort offered a long and gallant defence under Baqāullah Khan, who was joined by a strange ally, the

Hindu warrior-abbot Rājendra-giri Gosāin with his ferocious followers called Nāgās,—utterly naked savages with ash-smeared bodies and long matted locks This hero refused to remove to the safety of the fort-walls, but continued to live in his hut below the fort, close to the temple standing at the junction of the two rivers (Prayāg) Twice or three times everyday, whenever he noticed any negligence or weak point among the besiegers, he would make a lightning raid into their camp at the head of his sixty followers sword in hand and mounted on swift ponies, madly slash at the Afghāns right and left, and as quickly return to his place. Baqāullah threw a bridge of boats across the Jamunā under shelter of the fort-guns and thus secured his supplies and communication with the country south of the river From his headquarters at Jhusi (opposite Allahabad), on the left or Oudh side of the Ganges, Ahmad Khan sent detachments eastwards towards Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Benares. Rajah Prithipat Somvanshi of Partābgarh presented himself and joined the invader with his contingent. The chief bankers of Benāres waited on the Afghān general on the way and averted his visit to Benares by promising to pay seven lakhs. No part of the Benāres district was occupied by the invaders *

The Afghān force had neither the capacity nor the material necessary for taking such a fort as Allahabad. The siege dragged on for four months of desultory fighting, after which the Marātha threat to Farrukhabad led to its hasty abandonment (early in April 1751.) But before leaving the place, Ahmad's soldiers, " all fearless and bloodthirsty Afghāns, looted the entire city of Allahabad, from the gate of Khuldābād to the foot of the fort, burnt it down, and dragged away 4,000 women of respectable families into slavery. They only spared the quarter (*dāira*) of Shaikh Afzal Allahabadi and the Dariyābād ward, whose inhabitants were all Afghāns " [*Siyar*, iii 34, *Muz* 53, *Imād*. 64, *S. P. D.* ii 29.]

* *Imād*. 90. The panic among the Benares population, their flight to Patna, the dacoity on the way and the anarchy in the city are described in Rajwade, iii. 376 and 383

§ 9. *Bangash invasion of Oudh fails, 1751.*

The invasion of Oudh had been equally a failure. Mahmud Bangash (a son of Ahmad) with a vast force reached the western side of Bilgrām (32 miles s.-e. of Farrukhabad) on 1st February 1751. Here he encamped, while his men began to plunder that famous town. The inhabitants, many of them highly connected and soldiers by profession, offered fight, and a few people were wounded on both sides and about two hundred animals of the invading army were carried off. In anger Mahmud got his troops ready for assaulting the city, but was pacified by the holy men of the place, (evidently for a money consideration.) Thence he marched south-east towards Phāphāmau (opposite Allahabad and on the north bank of the Ganges), while one of his generals with 20,000 horse and foot was detached towards Lucknow. The latter halted on the way and sent a body of 5,000 men onwards to occupy Lucknow (56m. s. e. of Bilgrām), from which Safdar Jang's agents had fled away. The Afghān commander occupied the defenceless city and appointed his own police prefect to administer it. This man's oppression drove the citizens to desperation, they rose under the leadership of some Shaikhzādas, expelled him and restored Safdar Jang's authority. The Afghān advanced guard tried to enter the city and sack it in revenge, but it was opposed near the Ismailganj suburb (on the east side of Lucknow) and defeated. At the news of this unexpected reverse both detachments of the invading army fled away to their chieftain. Their despair infected Mahmud and he beat a hurried retreat from Phāphāmau. All the magistrates and tax-collectors of the Bangash usurper were now expelled from Oudh. [*Siyar* iii. 35, *Imād* 50-51, *Muz.* 53.]

§ 10. *Safdar Jang with Marathas and Jats invades Rohilkhand.*

It only remained to punish him in his homeland. Some months after the disaster at Rām Chatāuni (13th Sep. 1750), Safdar Jang had re-established his position at the Delhi Court and completed his alliance with the Marātha generals, who were the only power in India capable of crushing the Afghāns. He promised to pay Jayāpā Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar Rs. 25,000 (or 35,000) a day for their contingents and Surajmal

Rs. 15,000 for his Jāt force for help in the projected invasion of Rohilkhand. Ammunition and rockets were collected and some guns received from the imperial arsenal through the good offices of Jāvid Khan. [G-i-R. 40, Siyar, iii. 36.]

Winter is the natural time for campaigning in India, but the arrival of the Marātha allies was delayed till spring. They had first to fulfil their undertaking in Rajputana by seating Mādho Singh on the Jaipur throne and levy the promised subsidy from that State, and secondly they had to write to the Peshwā and get his consent to taking the Ruhela business in hand instead of immediately going to the South, as commanded by him, for a projected attempt to oust the Nizām from that part of India. It was only in the second week of February 1751 that the Marāthas could start from Jaipur. At last all his arrangements having been completed, Safdar Jang took formal leave of the Emperor on 11th February and entered his marching tents on the sandbank of Mahābat Khan. Thence he marched to Kishandās's Tank on the 18th, and was joined two days later by his ally Malhar Rao. Surajmal also arrived with his Jāt force, and the plan of campaign was now formed. (S.P.D. xxi. 40, ii. 31.)

The wazir remained some twenty miles in the rear of the fighting line and at a later stage of the war came back to his residence in Delhi. The brunt of the fighting was borne by his allies. First the Marātha light horse, 20,000 strong, made a dash and fell "like a sudden calamity" upon Shādil Khan, the Bangash governor of Koil (Aligarh) and Jālesar, who had only 4,000 horse and the same number of unreliable foot under him. Unable to oppose such odds, he fled away across the Kāli Nadi and the Ganges towards Farrukhabad. Many of his Afghāns were slain* or taken prisoner and much property seized by the victors (c. 20 March), and the whole of this large tract was cleared of the Bangash agents at one push. At the news of this disaster, Ahmad Khan at once raised the siege of Allahabad and returned to Farrukhabad with only a small remnant of his army, the mercenaries having disappeared during his retreat.*

* *Far. Gaz.* 166, *S.P.D.* ii. 32. *S.P.D.* xxvi. 176. "Ahmad Bangash sent his vanguard to oppose Malhar and the Jāt who had entered the Doāb, but it was defeated, giving up 7 or 8 elephants and 4 to 5 thousand

He decided to abandon his capital and make a stand at a small fort, now called Fatehgarh, three miles east of Farrukhabad and overlooking the Ganges, near the ferry of Husainpur. Across the river was the Ruhelā country, the only place from which armed aid and provisions could come to him. Here entrenchments were thrown up and the deep ravines on the land side supplied very strong natural defences.

The Marāthas had advanced rapidly down the Doāb, meeting with little or no opposition. They invested the Afghān position at Fatehgarh, "placing their headquarters at Qāsim Bāgh, half a mile west of the fort, while the wazir proceeded to Singirāmpur, a village and ferry some eleven miles further down the Ganges. An attempt made by him to throw a bridge across the river here was defeated by an officer of Mahmud Khan, who was encamped on the other side of the Ganges, opposite Fatehgarh. Meantime, at Fatehgarh the Marāthas daily besieged the fort. On the other side, the Pathāns made repeated sorties. Little impression was effected by either side. After the investment had lasted more than a month, Sadullah Khan (son of Ali Muhammad Khan) approached with his Ruhelā reinforcements of 12,000 men.

"On 17th April, a boat bridge was thrown over the Ganges by the wazir at Singirāmpur, and the Marathas and Jats crossed over to the left or eastern bank of it. Next day Sadullah arrived on that bank, opposite Fatehgarh and joined his forces to those of Mahmud Khan. Led away by youthful rashness, Sadullah attacked the Marāthas before Ahmad could cross over from the west bank and unite with him. After a great battle defeat fell in the end on the Afghāns. Sadullah and Mahmud fled away with their bare lives, the first to Aonla and the second to Fatehgarh, over ten thousand of their men were slain or wounded, and all their property, elephants, horses, carpets, and clothing, was captured by the Marāthas.

horses to plunder. Many Pathāns were slain, their camp was looted. Two or three posts have been captured. Great terror of the Marāthas has spread through that part." *S P D* xxi 41 and 43, ii 14, 14*a*, xxvii 66, xxvi 175. *Khaz. Am* 83-84.

For details of the Maratha campaign in the Doab, Rajwade, iii 383—384

"After nightfall the camp of the Ruhelās on the opposite bank was fired, and the sight of the flames struck terror into Ahmad Khan's garrison (in Fatehgarh) . . During the night the Nawāb (i.e., Ahmad Khan) with his kinsmen and chiefs left the fort, and made off to the ferry of Kāmraul, 15 miles above Fatehgarh, where he crossed the river and then took refuge in Aonla The Marāthas overtook many of the fugitives at Shikārpur ghāt, four miles above Fatehgarh, and many were slain In the morning (19th April), the Marāthas occupied Fatehgarh, after having killed many of the remaining defenders and taken a number of prisoners The Ruhelās of Aonlā . . . identified themselves completely with Ahmad Bangash's cause They all marched as rapidly as possible towards the Lower Himālayas," evacuating their homes of their women and leading persons.

The rainy season was about to begin, and the wazir, suspending the campaign till the rains ended, went away to Lucknow The Marāthas cantoned in the Bangash territory, plundering the entire country to their heart's content The value of the booty secured by them baffled the calculation of the historian Ghulām Husain,—"one single article being worth 16 *lakhs* of Rupees" Another historian, Sayyid Ghulām Ali writes, "In the invasion of the Ruhelā country Malhar gained two *krores* of Rupees in cash, besides what he had plundered (in kind) in the cities" [*Siyar.* iii. 36, *Imād* 57-59, *Far. Gaz* 166-167, *TAh* 27*b*-28*a*, *Muz* 54-56, *G--iR* 40-41, *Sujān Charitra, Jang* iv.]

At the end of the rains, the Pathāns advanced towards Farrukhabad, the Marāthas retreated before them and crossed over to the western side of the Ganges The wazir hurried back from Lucknow, crossed the Ganges, joined the Marāthas and resumed the offensive. The Pathāns were repulsed and marched up the left bank of the Ganges, retreating to Aonlā. After collecting the most valuable part of their property, the Ruhelā and Bangash chiefs abandoned Aonlā and sought shelter at the foot of the hills near Chilkiyā

Here they formed an entrenchment in the forest, and fed with supplies furnished by the Rajah of Almorāh they succeeded in holding their own for many months All efforts to dislodge them from this inaccessible refuge failed. But the malignant

jungle fever of this *Tarāi region* carried off thousands of Afghāns and Marāthas alike Four months dragged on in this kind of desultory fighting till March 1752 came to an end, "The Marāthas were weary of a contest in which no plunder could be gained, and suffering from disease in a climate peculiarly unhealthy," they were eager to go back *

§ 11 *Safdar Jang makes peace with the Ruhelas and Bangashes*

At the news of the Abdāli's invasion of the Panjab (early in 1752), the Emperor pressed his wazir to make peace with the Afghāns of Rohilkhand and hasten back to the capital So a peace was concluded at the beginning of April 1752, on the following terms :

"The debt due by Safdar Jang to the Marāthas for the expenses of the campaign was transferred to Ahmad Khan Bangash, who alienated to them half of his territory till the debt should be extinguished . The management of the Marātha parganas seems, however, to have been left in the hands of Ahmad, who, after paying the expenses of their administration, handed over the balance to two Deccani bankers stationed at Qanauj and Aliganj." The author of *Siyar-ul-mutakhkharin* gives further details, which are supported by *Bayān-i-waqāi* —Farrukhabad and some other *mahals* worth 16 lakhs (or 22 *lakhs*, according to *Bayan*) of Rupees a year were left to Ahmad and other sons of Muhammad Khan Bangash, while the sons of Ali Muhammad Ruhela were confirmed in the possession of Mirābād and some other mahals which they had seized after the death of Qâim Khan, but they were subjected to the payment of revenue for these Qanauj, Akbarpur Shāh and other possessions of the Bangash family were put in the possession of Govind Pant Bundelé the Maratha agent Safdar Jang kept a few of the places for himself. The Bangashes and Ruhelas thus emerged from this overwhelming invasion with surprisingly little permanent loss.

* *Siyar*, iii. 37. *G-i-R* 43 Malhar Rao Holkar himself was deeply grateful to Ahmad Khan for his kind treatment and release of his beloved son Khandé Rao, who had been captured in the jungle fighting one day. He plainly told the wazir that he would not fight Ahmad Khan to the bitter end. (*Bayān*, 265.)

"Matters remained in this position till after the battle of Pānipat in January 1761." In that battle the Ruhelas and Bangashes rendered good service to the victor and rose to prominence in the Delhi Government in the chain of the new arrangements made by the Afghan king. "After their defeat at Pānipat the Marāthas withdrew from Northern India for some years Ahmad Khan Bangash seized the opportunity to recover nearly all the territory of which he had been deprived" by the treaty of 1752 [*Far Gaz* 167-168 *Siyar*, iii 37, *Bayān* 265-266, *Imād* 59, *Chahār Gul* 407, *G-i-R* 44-43 (terms not given.)]

## CHAPTER X

### THE PANJAB, 1748—1754

§ 1 *Muin-ul-mulk subahdar of the Panjab, his enemies at home.*

When the Emperor Muhammad Shah learnt of the defeat of the Abdālī invader and the death of his wazir Qamruddin at Manupur (11th March, 1748), he appointed the wazir's son Muin-ul-mulk *subahdār* of Lāhor, with orders to chase the Afghan king out of India and to recover possession of the Panjab. This was no easy task, as the civil war between Zakariyā Khan's sons for the governorship of Lāhor and the subsequent Afghān invasion had completely disintegrated the provincial administration, swept away the imperial authority, and created anarchy. After the battle of Mānupur, Prince Ahmad and Muin marched towards Lāhor, and arriving on the Satlaj near Ludhiāna halted for 22 days, at the end of which they heard that the Abdālī had crossed the Indus at Attock and gone away towards Qandahār, vacating the province. But at the same place came on 9th April a letter of recall from the Emperor, and so the prince set out (12th April) with the imperial army for return to Delhi, sending Muin as *subahdār* to Lahor as ordered by the Emperor. This step left Muin with no resources except his personal contingent,—the remnant that had survived the Afghān onslaught at Mānupur—to support him in controlling the unruly province of Lāhor. In the camp on the Satlaj he went to the tents of the old captains and comrades of his father and begged them to accompany him. But love of family and the attraction of the easy life of the capital prevailed over ambition and gratitude, they refused and returned to Delhi with the heir apparent.

Muin had no help but to start for his new seat of government with less than 2000 cavalry and a small number of other troops who were personally attached to him. In a few days he reached Lāhor and was welcomed outside the city by the former officials and leading citizens of the place. He took up his residence in Fidāi Khan's mansion beyond the city walls and set about raising troops. The recruits were naturally men of his own race, namely

Turks of Central Asia (popularly called *Mughlai*),* many of whom were roving about in search of employment after the disruption of Nadir Shah's army. [Miskin *TAh* 10*b*.]

The new viceroy was an intelligent and just man but a lordly and easy-going ruler. He was confronted with enemies within the empire and outside it. The new imperial wazir, Safdar Jang, was the malignant star in the Delhi firmament. Devoid of far-sighted statesmanship, patriotism or devotion to the throne, he was destined to ruin the Mughal Empire by pursuing a policy of blind self-aggrandisement. His one thought was how to ensure himself in the Delhi Government by raising around himself a ring of dependable clients at Court and in the provinces. The Persian party among the nobles, with Shia recruits of other races, was to be installed in office everywhere. Above all, the dynasty of Muhammad Amin Khan Ahrāri, which had held the wazirship for thirty years, ever since the fall of the Sayyad brothers, must be prevented from making that office its hereditary property with the support of other nobles of the Turki party, such as the Nizām. The late wazir's son, crowned with the laurels of Mānupur, would prove a formidable rival for the wazirate and the rallying centre of the Turki party, if he could firmly establish himself in the Panjâb and use that martial province as a recruiting ground for the best fighters in India, so as to make his claim to his father's office irresistible.

The first instrument of this malicious design was Nāsir Khan, ex-governor of Kābul, who had been recently living in Delhi in unemployment and official neglect. On removing to Lāhor in search of bread, he was received very kindly by Muin who appointed him *faujdār* of the "four Mahals,"—Siālkot, Pasrur,

* Among these newly enlisted mercenaries were two captains (*jamadārs*) Sahātuddin and Nāzir Muhammad Beg, who gave to Muin, as presents on the day of their first audience, three Turki boys aged eight years, including Tahmāsp. This Tahmāsp lived to become a Delhi peer and to dictate (in 1780, under the pen-name of *Miskin*) a most valuable and original account of the occurrences in the Panjāb during the next ten years and in the Delhi Empire for a generation later (Br. Mus. Pers. 8807.) We find him there in 1793, employed in diplomatic missions. (Marathi despatches in *DY*, ii.)

Gujrat and Aurangabad,—gave him some money, and promised to support him in an attempt to recover Kabul from the Abdali after Nāsir had established his power and prestige in his new charge. The ungrateful wretch, after about a year of service, felt himself strong enough to turn against his benefactor. He listened to Safdar Jang's seductive messages urging him to increase his army, fight Muin, and wrest from his grasp the *subahdāri* of Lāhor, which would then be formally conferred upon Nāsir by a letter patent from the Court through the wazir's influence! Nāsir by offers of higher pay seduced a thousand Uzbak horsemen of Muin to desert to his side. The plot now leaked out. Muin with great promptitude equipped a force, marched to Siālkot, and after a four hours' battle drove Nāsir Khan in utter rout to Delhi, "covered with public disgrace" (*c.* July 1749.) [Miskin 5-6, *Muz.* 9, 26, *TAh.* 24*b.*]

At the same time Safdar Jang had planted another thorn in the side of Muin. He had found a useful tool for this purpose in Shāhnawāz Khan (Hizbar Jang, the second son of Zakariyā Khan), who, though a Turk by birth, had become a Shia like Safdar Jang and sought his patronage. The wazir told him, "The *subahdāri* of Lahor is your rightful heritage. Prepare yourself to win it by all means. Go to Multān, there increase your army, and expel Muin from Lāhor by force." The wazir sent Shānawāz to Multān (*c.* May 1749), with an imperial letter of appointment as subahdar of that province and some money and equipment of his own. This noble on arrival at Multān, began to increase his army by seducing Muin's soldiers with offers of higher pay, and in this way gathered 15,000 men, horse and foot, round his banners with some pieces of artillery. Then he wrote to Muin asking for a passport to visit his father's tomb at Lahor! The trick was too transparent. Muin took prompt action. He sent an army under his Bakhshi Asmat Khan and his diwan Rajah Kurāmal to Multān, where Shāhnawāz was defeated, his army was dissolved, and Kurāmal was installed as governor on behalf of Muin (*c.* Sep. or Oct. 1749.) [Miskin 7-8, *Muz.* 26, *TAh.* 25*a.*]

### § 2 *Abdali's second invasion, loss of the four mahals*

Muin had not yet been long enough in the Panjab to plant himself fully in power and to gather adequate military strength The two recent attempts to oust him had, no doubt, been foiled, but they had caused an immense loss of revenue to him and disturbed the country In this state of weakness, before he could gain breathing time, it was his cruel fate to be called upon to meet a foreign invasion. When such intestine wars were raging in India the enemy beyond the mountain passes could not be asleep Encouraged by the news of the happenings in the Panjab, Ahmad Abdāli, in the autumn of 1749 set out to try his luck once more and to imitate the career of Mahmud of Ghazni on the Indian soil

Muin collected his forces, advanced northwards to meet the enemy, and made his base at Sādrā, 3 miles east of the modern Wazirābād on the Chenāb From this place the Afghan position was several miles distant.* Scouts and foraging parties from the two sides daily rode into the intervening belt of land, fought skirmishes, and fell back on their own camps in the evening This kind of desultory warfare continued for months, and the campaign could not be pressed to a decisive issue, as both sides were weak and the Abdali's expedition was really intended to probe the defensive strength of the imperial frontier But the scene of war was devastated and the continued strain and hardship began to tell upon Muin's Mughalia troops So, at last he made peace through the mediation of a holy man, Maulavi Abdullah (about February 1750) The Abdāli was promised 14 *lakhs* of Rupees as the annual surplus revenue of the "four mahals"—Siālkot, Pasrur, Gujrāt and Aurangabad,—which Muhammad Shah had assigned to Nādir Shah by treaty They were, no doubt, to be still governed by the

* Miskin's topography seems to be confused He says that Abdali crossed the Chenab and boldly advanced [this must be eastwards, towards Lahor], and that Muin set out from Lahor and on reaching *that river* encamped at Sodra, when the enemy was 15 *kos* distant [5 *kos* would be more correct.] Where, then was Abdali's camp, westwards beyond the Chenāb, or south-east of the Chenāb and therefore in Muin's rear [unlikely]? This writer (a boy of nine at that time) has evidently reversed the positions of the two armies, when writing from memory 30 years later Abdali was at Sodra and Muin some 10 or 15 miles east of him and nearer to Lahor

Delhi Emperor's agents and in his name, but the Afghān, all the same, got the first slice of India proper [*Siyar*, iii 30, *Muz* 27, *Bayan* 247-249, *T Ah.* 8; Miskin 4.]

## § 3. *Sikh rebels and raiders, their character*

For the next two years the Panjāb enjoyed peace from the side of Afghanistan, but its internal condition was no more tranquil or happy than before The *subahdar* made frequent tours throughout his charge to suppress refractory local chieftains and predatory villagers The Sikhs were already becoming a thorn in the side of the established Government The disintegration of imperial authority presented a golden opportunity to these born rebels The martial religion of Guru Govind had knit the Sikhs together into organised bands of soldiers, with perfect brotherhood in their ranks and freedom from the distinctions of caste, social gradation, and food, which embarrass and divide the orthodox Hindus They were mostly recruited from the sturdy race of Jat peasantry, hardy, strong-limbed, prolific "like ants and locusts", and accustomed to regard highway robbery as a hereditary and honourable profession The Panjāb breeds excellent horses, far superior to he dwarfish mares ridden by the Marāthas Each Sikh marauder was "well-mounted and armed with a spear, sword and good matchlock," and they acted in bands under petty chieftains of their own, who had the wisdom to combine with others in the pursuit of the same trade. "The Sikh Uhlan's endurance and rapidity of movement were quite commensurate with his rapacity, enabling him to baffle, if not defy, superior numbers . . At a pinch, he could march some twenty or thirty miles a day on no better fare than a little parched gram washed down with pure cold water A tent he despised, baggage in the ordinary sense of the word he had none Besides his weapons, his whole kit consisted of horse-gear, a few of the simplest cooking utensils, and two blankets, one for himself, and another for his faithful steed . . Although his tactics mainly resolved themselves into a prolonged series of skirmishes conducted somewhat after the Parthian fashion, yet in the strife of men contending hand to hand, he was terrible, though helpless against good artillery." [G R C Williams in *Calcutta Review*, No. 119, 1875.]

In this last respect, as well as in the excellent size breed and fleetness of their horses and their universal use of fire arms, the Sikhs far surpassed the Marāthas as fighters.

The Sikh tactics are thus described by an English civil servant, George Forster, who travelled through their country in 1783—"Their military force may be said to consist essentially of cavalry . A Sikh horseman is armed with a matchlock and sabre of excellent metal, and his horse is strong and well-formed There is a difference in their manner of attack from that of any other Indian cavalry; a party from forty to fifty, advance in a quick pace to the distance of a carbine shot from the enemy, and then, that the fire may be given with greater certainty, the horses are drawn up and their pieces discharged; when speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation, that on receiving a stroke of the hand, they stop from a full career .... Their conquests have largely originated from an activity unparalleled by other Indian nations, from their endurance of excessive fatigue, . a temperance of diet, and a forbearance from many of those sensual pleasures which have enervated the Indian Muhammadans A body of their cavalry has been known to make marches of forty or fifty miles, and to continue the exertion for many successive days." (*Journey from Bengal to England*, London 1798, Vol 1 p. 288-290, with an extract from Col Polier's description wr. in 1777).

The Sikh enemies of the Mughal empire fell into two classes regionally, each with a different history and line of action, namely, cis-Satlaj and trans-Satlaj,—i e , those living south-east of the Satlaj, between Ludhiana and Karnal, and those whose homes lay north-west of that river, between Ludhiānā and Lahor. The former in time developed into territorial magnates,—the Rajahs of Patiālā, Kapurthalā, Nābhā and Jhind, besides smaller chiefs, by first passing through the stage of robbers of the imperial highway from Delhi to Lahor which ran through their homes. The latter were originally rebels defying the civil administration of the governor of Lahor, and supplementing their assertion of independence with the plunder of their weaker

neighbours. In the second stage of Sikh expansion, *i.e.*, after 1761, the cis-Satlaj Sikhs became settled in principalities of their own, while the trans-Satlaj or Mānjhā Sikhs began to cross the river every year and, usually without any co-operation from their local brethren, used to blackmail, rob or burn the villages and unwalled cities of the entire country from Delhi to Mirat, Saharanpur and Hardwār. The third stage began with the new invasion of the cis-Satlaj region by Sikhs from beyond that river under Bedi Singh of Unā in 1794 and Ranjit Singh in 1806. But these events would bring us to the British period of Indian history.

### § 4. *Revival of Sikh power after 1739, the course of its growth*

The complete suppression of the false Guru Bandā and his band of ferocious fanatics (1713) had effectually crushed the Sikhs as a rebellious and fighting force for one generation. Then the manifest impotence of the Delhi empire revealed by Nādir Shah's easy and complete triumph, tempted these people to raise their heads once more. While Zakariyā Khan's strong and vigilant rule kept peace in the trans-Satlaj region (belonging to his *subah* of Lahor) up to his death in 1745, the cis-Satlaj region, forming part of the *subah* of Delhi, began to see a revival of disorder and rapine. In 1740 a large body of Jats and Sikhs gathered together, chose a leader whom they styled Darānat Shāh, and marched through the Sarhind district, causing a great disturbance and seizing many villages. It was only a force sent from Delhi under Azimullah Khan that could defeat and disperse them. (*Chahār Gulzār*, 373 *a*.)

The unusually prolonged life and exceptional ability of Alā Singh Jat (in power from 1714 to 1765) enabled him to found the kingdom of Patiālā in the Sarhind district on an enduring basis. His success was crowned at the close of his life when he was recognised as the lawful governor of Sarhind (in 1764.) During the intervening period he was the centre of nearly all the lawless risings in this region. The Rāi family of Rāikot (converted to Islam in the 13th century) were the leading land-owners of this district, till they were eclipsed by the house of

Patiālā in the middle of the 18th century They first shook off the authority of the Delhi Government about 1740 and, though defeated and driven out in 1741 by a combination of the imperial faujdar of Sarhind and Alā Singh, soon afterwards recovered their patrimony, gained Ludhiānā in 1760, and extended their dominions by an amicable settlement of their respective spheres of influence with the Patiālā Rajahs and other Sikh chiefs of the district Ahmad Shah Abdālī in 1767 confirmed Amar Singh, the grandson and successor of Ala, as governor of Sarhind with the title of Maharajah, and the whole of this tract up to Ambālā city finally fell into the hands of the Sikhs (Phulkiān and their Mānjha allies), each chief or confederacy (*misl*) seizing as many villages as he could (*Ludhiana Gazetteer*, 22-24 )

This was the situation as developed by the course of events after 1761 in the cis-Satlaj region, which in the geography of Mughal India was not a part of the Panjab, but of the Delhi subah We are, however, in this chapter concerned with the Sikh raisings in the *subah* of Lahor, *i e*, in the region from Lahor eastwards to the Satlaj

The political change which began in the Panjab after 1745, promoted a new upheaval of the Sikh element. Zakariyā Khan had maintained public contentment and order by his strong and vigilant administration, his love of justice and regard for his subjects. His death, followed by the civil war between his sons and the Abdāli invasion, ruined the government of the province and its finances Muin-ul-mulk no doubt came in 1748 as substantive governor, but his forces were inadequate for bringing the whole province back to order and restoring the normal administration completely He had to maintain a large force of freshly arrived recruits from Central Asia with lavish bounties His household expenditure was also very heavy on account of his lordly and extravagant style of living, as we see vividly illustrated in the memoirs of his page Tahmāsp Miskin "He could refuse nothing to his friends" In consequence his income fell far short of his expenses, and the peasants were subjected to severe exaction and oppression The Sikhs were known to hold it a religious duty to help one another of the faith to the utmost So, wherever the villagers underwent

oppression, they let their hair and beard grow, cried out *Akal! Akal!* and embraced the religion of Guru Govind. The other Sikhs came to their help, and thus their religion spread rapidly through the Panjab As the peasantry were more and more ruined by their rulers, the number of Sikhs multiplied in proportion This phenomenon became most manifest after Muin's death and during the incompetent and capricious regency of his widow Mughlāni Begam [*Muz* 81 *Siyar*, iii 51 ]

§ 5 *Muin's struggles with the Sikhs*

Even during Muin's lifetime small bands of Sikhs had been robbing the country and defying the Government in the region east of Lahor, especially in the Batālā and Kālanur districts, and punitive expeditions had to be constantly sent out against them, sometimes under the governor in person The Sikhs in that age were "helpless against artillery," and hence Muin very thoughtfully had 990 *jizails* made and employed them against the Sikh brigands. His detachments "ran after these wretches (up to) 28 *kos,* and slew them whenever they stood up to a fight Whosoever brought a Sikh's head to Muin received a reward of Rupees ten for each man slain Any soldier who captured a Sikh's horse could keep it as his own. If his own horse perished in the campaign, another was given to him from the Government stables." (Miskin, 12 )

One expedition led against the Sikhs by Muin himself towards the close of 1752 is thus described by his page: "When the Nawāb Sāhib (*i.e* , Muin-ul-mulk) was out on an administrative tour, in the Batālā district, he heard that a large body of Sikhs were causing disturbances in that neighbourhood, stopping the roads and ruining the cultivators. He sent Sayyid Jamiluddin Khan with his *bakhshi* Ghāzi Beg Khan to punish them. These officers marched to the scene, fought the Sikhs and put them to flight. Nine hundred of the Sikh infantry threw themselves into the small fort of Rāmrauni, close to Chak Guru Hargovind, which Jamiluddin immediately invested After a few days the garrison rushed out sword in hand, fell upon the besiegers, and were all slain (Miskin, 17 ) But this slaughter had no more effect than stamping upon a few hundred white ants. Such conflicts with Sikh bands continued till the very

day of Muin's death (3rd November 1753)* and grew more numerous after him

### § 6. *Abdālī's third invasion; capture of Lahor*

While the running sore of scattered Sikh risings was thus ceaselessly draining the lifeblood of the Panjāb Government, the province was again assailed by the Abdālī. The annual tribute for the "four mahals" promised by the treaty of 1750 had not been paid even in part The Abdālī wrote to Muin from the frontier saying, "This breach of treaty has made me come Send me 24 *lakhs* of Rupees for the three years past and then I shall go away" Muin replied that Nāsir Khan, who had administered the four mahals during the first two years, had run away with all the revenue collected during that time, and that he himself could pay the tribute for the only year that he had held that tract. The Abdālī was not to be thus put off In December 1751, he made his third invasion, with a much larger army than ever before When he arrived on the bank of the Indus, Muin sent him 9 *lakhs* as the revenue of the four mahals Ahmad Abdālī took the money, but continued his invasion Muin sent his entire family to the Jammu hills for safety The richer citizens of Lāhor fled in alarm to Delhi and other places. [*TAh.* 30 ]

From his capital Muin-ul-mulk hastily advanced to check the enemy on the way Crossing the Rāvi he marched by way of Shāhdarā to the Bridge of Shāh Daulā, 22 miles north of Lāhor. Here he lay encamped in a strong position protected by numerous artillery, while the scouts on both sides daily engaged in skirmishes

Then the veteran Afghan king made a daring move Leaving his camp standing some distance in front of Muin's position, he with a picked light force made a wide detour to the right

* His page writes, "Wherever he heard of Sikh risings he sent Khwājah Mirzā with troops to suppress them The Sikhs who were captured alive were sent to hell by being beaten with wooden mallets . . At times Adina Beg sent 40 or 50 Sikh captives from the (Jālandar) Doāb district; they were killed with strokes of wooden hammers" (Miskin, 19.) Another fight with the Sikhs at which Miskin was present, during the *subahdari* of Muin's infant, is described in Miskin, 22-23.

round the latter's camp, suddenly arrived in the environs of Lahor, and took post near the shrine of Shāh Baladil. Some houses in the suburbs, outside the walls, were plundered. The Afghān vanguard, reported to be 10,000 horse under their king's lieutenant Jahān Khan, occupied the Faiz Bakhsh garden.

Muin, finding his rear turned, hastened back towards Lahor. On reaching the bank of the Ravi at Rājghāt, he halted and detached Khwājah Mirzā Khan with all his corps of 900 Mughalia troops armed with *jezails* across the river to dislodge the Afghans from the garden, which was effected after a long and stubborn fight.

Next day, the Afghans marched away towards the Shalamār gardens. Muin then crossed over to the Lahor side of the Ravi and formed an entrenchment outside the city. The war now entered on the stalemate stage. The Abdāli could neither storm Lahor on account of his lack of artillery, nor drive Muin out of his trenches, and Muin too had not a sufficiently large mobile force to enable him to sally out and seek a decision with the Afghans in the open. The patrols on the two sides had frequent brushes. Ahmad every day sent out strong detachments which systematically ravaged the country for forty miles on each hand, so that "no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of three marches and grain became exceedingly dear." (Miskin, 14.)

No reinforcement reached the defender of Lahor during these four critical months. The Emperor repeatedly wrote to his wazir about the urgency of the case and the dangerous condition of the frontier province, but Safdar Jang took no action, being more bent upon crushing his private foes and settling his own subah of Oudh. The other nobles were too poor to afford any help. In Muin's own camp divided counsels reigned. Bhikāri Khan advocated peace at any price, Kuramal pressed for battle after distributing the proposed ransom among Muin's own soldiers and thus heartening them for the contest, while Adina Beg and Mumin Khan wavered between war and peace from day to day. [*TAh.* 32*a*.]

The war dragged on in this manner for a month and a half.* Then came a catastrophe. The Lahor army's long confinement

* According to *Husaini*, p. 31. But *Siyar* iii 43, *Muz.* 57 and Miskin 16 say that Muin opposed the Abdali for four months, evidently that

within its trenches made the place foul and unhealthy, denuded the neighbourhood of grass and trees, and exhausted the wells. At last it was decided to shift the camp some ten miles to a better position with a plentiful supply of good water, grass and fuel. Next morning (5th March 1752), the march began at dawn. Adinā Beg led the van, Diwān Kurāmal the rear, and Muin himself the centre where all the baggage was placed loaded on carts and transport beasts. But the news of the movement had leaked out, and as soon as this huge multitude of soldiers, camp followers and animals began its slow and ponderous march, it was assailed by the mobile Afghan horse in front and rear. The mounds of old brick vacated by Muin's artillery were immediately occupied by the enemy, who began to command the moving columns with their light swivel-guns, while their swift horsemen hovered around. "The order of the Lahor army fell into confusion."

Attacked vigorously in front and rear and threatened on both flanks, Muin sent 300 of his Mughalia *jizail*-men to support Adinā Beg and the same number to Kurāmal, while he kept Khwājah Mirzā with the remaining 300 by his own side. Adinā Beg is accused by some contemporary writers of having treacherously neglected to support Kurāmal, so that cohesion among the three divisions of Muin's army was lost.* When Kurāmal was hastening to his master's defence, a cannon-ball wounded his elephant. As he was changing it for another he was shot down by a bullet, and his troops dispersed in a panic. Thus Muin's rear was entirely uncovered and

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period covered the entire campaign from the stand at the Bridge of Shah Daula to the fall of Lahor.

Abdali's capture of Lahor—*T.Ah.* 30*a*, 32, Miskin, 13-16. The other sources are later or secondary: *Siyar* iii 43-44, *Muz* 57-59, *Husaini* 31-34, Elliot viii. 167-168. *Lahore Gazetteer* (1833), 27, places the Abdali's camp near the Shālamār garden, Muin's entrenchments "a short distance from the suburb of Shāhdara" and the last battle near the village of Mahmud Buti.

* *Siyar* (iii 43), *Muz* (58), Shakir (78), *Farhat-un-nāzirin* (in Elliot vii. 168.) The last charges Adina Beg with having shot Kuramal from behind.

the exultant enemy attacked his division (the centre). Here after a heroic resistance, two of his leading officers were wounded. But mercifully the shades of evening now closed on the field of terror confusion and death, and the remnant of the Indian army was saved. Some Afghans entered the city of Lahor pellmell with the fugitives and started plundering. In the thick darkness of that night neither the citizens nor the soldiers could see anything distinctly, and so every one in his distraction sought safety by flight.

Meantime, Muin-ul-mulk had kept his place in the field and said his sunset prayer where he stood. All was not lost, as he still had some 10,000 men within call of him, but without any artillery or ammunition for the jizails. His captains took him with themselves to the Idgah, two miles from his position, in the hope of finding Adinā Beg there, but that general had sought his own safety without thinking of his master. Muin had no help now but to grope his way in the darkness and enter the city of Lahor by one of its gates. He put up for the night in the mansion of Mir Amin Khan. Utter confusion raged in the capital of the Panjab during that dreadful night, none knew who else were in the city or who was where.

### § 7. *Muin surrenders to Abdāli*

With the return of daylight Muin promptly took such measures of defence as were possible under the circumstances; he posted his most trustworthy soldiers to man the walls and trenches where the fortifications were weak. Abdāli invited him to a conference for settling a peace. Muin fearlessly went there with only three attendants, namely two sons of Jān Nisār Khan and a eunuch. Two of the highest Afghan nobles welcomed him and presented him to their king. Ahmad Shah asked, "What would you have done to me if you had captured me?" Muin replied, "I should have cut your head off and sent it to my master the Emperor." Abdāli asked again, "Now that you have held off so long from making a submission, what should I do to you?" The vanquished governor gave the fearless answer, "If you are a shopkeeper sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a Pādishāh then grant me

your grace and pardon" The answer highly pleased the Afghan king He embraced Muin, called him his son (Farzand Khān B ) and bestowed on him a robe of honour, an aigrette for the crest, and the very turban he was wearing (Miskin, 16-17, *Husaini* 33 )

Then Muin begged that the favour shown to him might be extended to his people At his request the Afghan king released his Panjabi captives, and posted his provost-marshals in the city to prevent his soldiers from robbing or maltreating the citizens The people within the walls were already starving through the stoppage of their grain supply on account of the war and siege. Next day Muin returned to his quarters and raised a few lakhs of Rupees from the city which he presented to the Abdāli as the price of a dinner to him and his troops By the terms of this treaty the *subahs* of Lahor and Multan were ceded to the Afghan king. He left them to be governed by Muin in the same way as before, without disturbing the administrative arrangements in any way Only the surplus revenue was henceforth to be sent to the Abdāli and the final orders in the highest questions were to be taken from him * He even yielded to Muin's wise counsels and gave up his first thought of striking coins at Lahor in his own name (Miskin, 16 )

Similarly the *subah* of Multān passed into the possession of the Abdāli and was placed under an agent obedient to him Large numbers of Sadduzai Afghans (fellow-clansmen of Ahmad) were planted here with gifts of land, so that this province became an Afghan colony (*Husaini*, 33 )

The victorious Afghan king halted at Lahor and sent his envoy Qalandar Beg to Delhi to secure confirmation of the gains of his sword. This man reached the Mughal capital on 1st April The terrified Emperor and his ministers at once agreed to the formal cession of the provinces of Lahor and Multan to the Abdāli, or in actual effect to pay him 50 lakh of Rupees a year in lieu of their surplus revenue On 13th April the

* To save the face of the Emperor, however the letters of appointment of the governors of Lahor selected by the Abdali were to be issued from the Chancellery of the Delhi Emperor and these two subahs were to continue nominally as included within the empire!

Afghan envoy was given *conge* by the Emperor in the Hall of Select Audience and told, "I am standing firmly by my promises, but if your master deviates from his agreement I am prepared for fighting." The envoy placed the letter embodying the peace-terms on his head and assured the Delhi Court, "Whosoever is evil-minded towards this God-given State will be consumed by divine wrath." He and three of his companions received rich gifts and were sent away. [*D C S P D* xxi 53, 55; *TAh* 33*b*]

The only noble who could have opposed such a tame breaking up of the empire and counselled manly resistance was Safdar Jang But he was far away to the east, entangled in war with the Ruhelas at the foot of the Kumāun hills and returned to Delhi on 25th April, too late to prevent the treaty [*D C*, *TAh* 33*b*]

## § 8. *Muin-ul-mulk's last year and death*

After this signal success in arms, confirmed promptly by diplomacy, Ahmad Shah Abdali left for Qandahār at once at the approach of the Indian summer (April 1752) Muin-ul-mulk turned again to his duties as subahdar and tried to restore the administration and public order which had been upset by the Afghan invasion His most pressing task was to collect his dispersed fugitive and starving soldiery together. This done he went on a tour in the Batālā district where he suppressed a Sikh band near Chak Guru Hargovind, slaying 900 of these desperadoes At the end of this prolonged tour, he returned to Lahor and lived there for six months But the Sikhs gave him no peace The recent war had demonstrated to all the utter weakness of their governor and stripped the imperial Government of the last shred of prestige With the coming of the cold weather (October 1753) their raids were renewed Muin marched out of his capital to Mālakpur, 40 miles north-east of Lahor and made a long halt there From this base he sent out detachments to suppress the Sikhs wherever he heard of their risings. But his efforts to stamp out the epidemic of lawlessness were futile

On 2nd November 1753, after hunting in the forenoon, he took a heavy meal at midday, followed it up by a *siesta*, and then in the afternoon while out galloping his horse over a field to join his troops, he was suddenly taken ill. The doctors could do nothing with all their devices, and he died in the night of the 3rd under symptoms which created the belief that he had been poisoned. His masterful widow, Mughlāni Begam, "won over the soldiery by opening the doors of the treasury and paying the due salaries of the soldiers and officials for three days and nights." Then she brought his corpse to Lahor where it was buried in the tomb-enclosure of Hazrat Ishān, close to the grave of the late Nawāb Khan Bahādur.*

§ 9. *The governors of the Panjab after Muin.*

The news of Muin's death reached Delhi on 12th November. Next day the Emperor nominated his three year old son Mahmud subahdār of the Panjāb,—"that very important frontier province, and one so constantly threatened by the Abdālī," as the author of *Tārikh-i-Ahmad Shāhi* points out in justifiable indignation. The baby warden of the north-western marches made his bow for his exalted office in the *Diwān-i-khās*, and was quite fittingly supplied with a deputy (*nāib-subahdār*) in the person of Muin's son Muhammad Amin Khan, then in the second year of his life, for whom a robe of investiture was sent from Court with due gravity. This puppet play lasted for five days, and then on 17th November, Intizām-ud-daulah, the wazir, was appointed absentee governor of the Panjab. The actual administration was entrusted to Mumin Khan as his deputy, with whom Bihkāri Khan was joined. [*TAh.* 85*b*, 87*b*, 88*b*.]

But the reality of power lay elsewhere than at the imbecile Court of Delhi. The two deputies at Lahor wisely sent their agent to Jahān Khan, the Afghan viceroy of the Peshāwar province, in order to learn his master's pleasure in the matter. At

* Miskin, 17, 20-21, *TAh.* 85*b* (death), 93*b* (burial). "Muin was buried near Shāhid-ganj (north-east of the city), where the remains of his tomb may still be seen. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Mannu, and scattered them to the winds." (*Lahore Gaz.* 28*n*.)

the end of January 1754 a *farmān* and a robe of office were received from the Abdālī, by which the infant Muhammad Amin Khan was appointed *his* subahdār of the Panjāb with his father's title of Muin-ul-mulk, while Mumin Khan was nominated as his deputy.*

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* *TAh.* 93*b*, 11c*a* After narrating this event, the author of *Tārikh-i-Ahmad Shāh* remarks, "O the marvel! Such weakness on the part of a sovereign who wore the crown of the realm of Hindustan and whose coins were current throughout the land! All this was the outcome of the wickedness of the Irānī and Turānī nobles."

## CHAPTER XI.

### REBELLION OF SAFDAR JANG, 1753

#### § 1 *Character of Safdar Jang his defects*

It was only in a fit of extreme exasperation, when feeling himself opposed to a blind wall in all his acts, that Safdar Jang was tempted to remove his rival by means of the dagger But if he hoped to gain a clear field for his administrative activities by this crime, he was soon undeceived The immediate effect of the murder of Jāvid Khan is thus graphically described by the Court historian "When the news reached the Emperor, he was greatly perplexed, but durst not do anything Khwājah Tamkin, the wazir's agent, came to the fort with a large force, secured an audience with the Emperor through the *nāzir* Roz-āfzun Khan, and offered the wazir's excuses for this audacious act, reassuring His Majesty in every way and professing his readiness to carry out every order of the Emperor . The Emperor and his mother grieved deeply It is said that Udham Bāi put on white robes and discarded her jewels and ornaments (like a widow ) But the Emperor said not a word to anybody on this subject "* The Queen-mother raged, though in secret, like a lioness robbed of her mate and fell completely into the hands of two far more formidable enemies of Safdar Jang than the late eunuch Jāvid Khan was a lowborn upstart, despised by the nobility and the populace alike, and actuated solely by a vulgar greed of wealth which he sought to gratify by means of his plurality of offices and hold upon the Emperor He had no administrative or territorial ambition, and indeed this kind of activity was impossible for a eunuch who had constantly to attend the harem at the capital But Intizām-ud-daulah enjoyed the highest social position and family prestige among the Mughal peers, and Imād-ul-mulk possessed the greatest organising power, penetrating intellect and iron will of any noble then living, and these two now became the leaders of the Court party

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* *T.Ah* 41

Safdar Jang had not a single friend left to him in the Court circle Salābat Khan was under confinement, Najmuddaulah was dead and the two enemies who now had the Emperor's ears could not be mollified by money bribes as Javid Khan used to be Nor could this defect of the wazir's position be made good by his own character Safdar Jang was neither a good general nor a born leader of men Personal valour he no doubt possessed, but it was nullified by his rashness and haughty disregard of the counsels of wiser men He was incapable of forming far-sighted plans, executing combined movements, promptly mastering the changing situation on a battle field, or retrieving a disaster by the force of iron determination and cool personal guidance

He was of so lordly a disposition and so careless of money that he spent on the wedding of his son forty-six lakhs of Rupees, while the marriage of the eldest and favourite son of the most magnificent of the Mughal Emperors, a century earlier, had cost thirty lakhs only [*Imād*, 36 ] He was, no doubt, well served by Hindu secretaries and business managers who raised large revenues for him from his fertile provinces, but their efforts were neutralised by his extravagance Nor had he the true leader's instinct of choosing capable servants and acting according to their counsel Political foresight and diplomatic sagacity alike he lacked, and he could not build up any strong coalition, without which no one could maintain himself in power at the Court of such a fickle and faithless sovereign In short, Safdar Jang had neither the wisdom nor the spirit necessary in a wazir called upon to maintain the Delhi empire of that age A number of talented Shia officers gathered round him and remained devoted to him to the end, but they were mere individuals, attracted to him by the ties of religion or family, and not successive links in a complete and well-joined chain of administration Thus, in the end, in spite of his splendid opportunities, the natural wealth of his provinces, and the excellence of his soldiers individually, his career ended in failure The historian is bound to pronounce that Safdar Jang was far inferior in character and capacity to Ali Mardān and Sadullah, Mir Jumlā and Ruhullah and other Persian immigrants who had adorned the reigns of Shah Jahān and Aurangzib, or even to Mirzā Najaf Khan of the generation next to his

Intizam-ud-daulah, Khān-i-Khānān,* the eldest son of Muhammad Shah's wazir Qamruddin, had inherited his father's ease-loving disposition A timid unenterprising man, he always shrank from fight and sought safety by burying himself within his mansion, at the least threat of danger. He had neither natural capacity nor taste for a military life and could never handle even a small force in peace or war As wazir of the Empire for 15 months (March 1753—May 1754), he covered himself with utter disgrace by his incapacity and cowardice But his widowed mother Sholāpuri Begam (a daughter of Jān Nisār Khan of Aurangzib's reign), who had ruled her husband's household, now established her influence over Udham Bāi and became the medium of the palace-plot for overthrowing Safdar Jang [*Siyar*, iii 46; *Imād*, 22 ]

## § 2 *Character of Imād-ul-mulk.*

Imād-ul-mulk's father was Ghāziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, the eldest son of the first Nizām Asaf Jah An extremely reserved and godly man, Firuz Jang spent his days in the company of theologians and his nights in vigil, and ordered the life of his household with the strict rod of a puritan These qualities he seems to have inherited from his mother, who was the Sayyid-born daughter of a pious Shaikh of Gulbargā. He married Zeb-un-nisā (popularly known as Sultān Begam), a daughter of the wazir Qamruddin Their son was Shihābuddin, who afterwards gained the titles of Imād-ul-mulk, Ghāzi-ud-din Khan Bahādur, Firuz Jang, Mir Bakhshi, Amir-ul-umarā, Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh, and finally in June 1754 became the wazir of the Empire Born at Narwar on 1st February 1736, Imad was brought up by his pious father with incredible strictness; he spent his days exclusively with tutors and *mullāhs* and the Muslim Sabbath with enunchs, being never allowed to mix with boys of his own age or to attend any performance by dancing girls, though this was the universal amusement of all classes in that age and almost a matter of course at every social gathering. The result was that his intellect pased through a forced precocious

* His original name was Mir Nizamuddin Khan, and he subsequently got his father's titles of *Qamruddin* and *Itimadud-daulah*, but will be called *Intizam* throughout this book.

flowering He mastered several languages, including Turkish, and learned to write with neatness the seven different styles of Arabic penmanship As a scholar, he was versed in many branches of knowledge and wrote poetry of some note in his time His intellectual attainments, however, did not weaken his power of action. Unlike his passive retiring father, he was brave in battle, enterprising in action, and a born leader of men in a degree surprising in a lad not yet out of his teens But all these splendid gifts were vitiated by an utter lack of the moral sense, a boundless ambition, a shameless greed of money, and a ferocious cruelty of disposition that made him one of the monsters of Delhi history. His father's simplicity of life and aversion to pleasure had accumulated a vast hoard out of which seventy lakhs in cash and jewels were utilised by Imād most wisely and successfully in his war with Safdar Jang [*Imād*, 61-62, *Siyar*, iii 46 ]

### § 3. *Safdar Jang's administrative incapacity, causes of his downfall*

For seven months after the murder of Jāvid Khan, Safdar Jang was the first minister of State without a rival and without any rebellion or foreign invasion threatening the realm If he had possessed any real capacity or statesmanly vision, he could have used this interval of peace to restore the administration and strengthen the national defence But he did nothing to reorganise the army, cement alliances or improve the finances. Worst of all, by his lack of far-sighted policy, greed of money and office, and reckless pride, he frightened the Emperor, alienated the other nobles, and disgusted the people of Delhi.

He had employed his position as chancellor to take for himself the most fertile and quiet *jāgirs* and the property of deceased nobles whenever the Government could venture to enforce the law of escheat. He had done this at first by going into shares with Jāvid Khan, but after that eunuch's death as a sole monopolist. All other nobles starved and laid their unemployment and hardships at his door, but they had to fret in silence for want of any friend or champion. Safdar Jang as wazir was officially in supreme control of the finances He selfishly seized all the

revenue that came in and spent it on his personal contingent, so that the troops of the other officers of State and even the Emperor's palace-guard and artillery remained unpaid for years together, and the starving soldiery frequently rose in mutiny, rioted in the streets, mobbed their officers, and blocked the gates of the palace or of the Paymaster's house, preventing ingress and egress and cutting off their inmates' supply of food and drinking water for days together. Such was the visible fruit of this dictator's administration

At the same time, while the wazir could not save his master from starvation or insult by his own troops, he was unable to defend the capital from outrage and plunder The Marāthas looted the environs of Delhi and even threatened to break into the city itself, and Safdar Jang could not remove them by force or bribery In the district round Delhi, not to speak of distant provinces, highway robbery went on unchecked, the strong man collected the rents in the weak man's estate without fear In a realm in the critical condition of the Mughal Empire at that time, the first minister of State frequently absented himself from the seat of the Government in order to look after his own interests in Oudh or Rohilkhand, the central administration naturally ceased to function and things drifted aimlessly on.

By trying to grasp at everything Safdar Jang ultimately lost all Moderation in the hour of victory would have perpetuated his power In an age when every public office was regarded as an heirloom, and the son claimed his dead father's post, not on the ground of his being the best candidate available but as the late incumbent's legal heir, Safdar Jang, himself a "new man," raised a host of enemies by trying to keep every office of power or emolument out of the hands of the Turāni chiefs and their followers. He forgot that the Turānis had been in supreme control of the administration for three generations, and they had built up a strong circle of subordinates, clients and dependent vassals. No true statesman can afford to ignore the real elements of power (*realen macht-faktoren*) in the world in which he moves, he must come to terms with them, in the spirit of living and letting live But this Safdar Jang could not do; he had not a single friend among the older nobility now that Ishaq Khan was dead and Salābat Khan in disgrace With insane folly he

had alienated Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal and Bihar, though united to him by religion His policy of restricting the admissions to the Emperor's audience in his own interest and his boisterous attitude to the other servants of State filled the Emperor with a sense of humiliation and fear about his personal safety. As the Court historian writes, "The monarchy was utterly ruined The Emperor, seeing the wazir's love of disturbance, promotion of the mean, and villainy of spirit and his own helpless condition, resigned all authority in the State to him and passed his days in pleasure in the harem This wazir was a desolator of the realm and an impoverisher of his master" [*T Ah* 44, 48*a*]

The first task of a wise wazir at that time should have been to reorganise the imperial army For this a regular and adequate supply of funds had to be ensured But Safdar Jang looked only to building up his private hoard, and the armed defence of the Empire became impossible

A contest was sure to come for the overthrow of such a grasping, dictatorial but futile wazir, and Safdar Jang's blindness precipitated it within seven months of Jāvid Khan's death Short-sighted, with no fixed policy save selfish acquisition, Safdar Jang made every possible mistake In the duel between the Irāni and Turāni immigrants in India, the adhesion of the local Afghāns would turn the scale, and yet he goaded the Afghāns into becoming his mortal enemies They had been at the outset most reluctant to measure swords with him, they only wanted to be let alone But thanks to his provocations and foolish conducting of campaigns, they soon learnt to despise his arms, while his base treatment of the dead Qāim Khan's family and the atrocities of his Marātha allies made the Afghān settlers both east and west of the Ganges loathe him for ever. The Marathas were mere mercenaries, ever ready to transfer their venal swords to the highest bidder, and Safdar Jang's depleted treasury could not compete with Imād's untouched hoard His faithful Jat allies had been ineffective against the Ruhelās and failed to turn a single field in his favour in the civil war that now followed On the contrary, their plunder of Delhi and its environs,—long remembered under the ominous name of *Jāt-gardi*,—brought the deepest odium on the wazir and alienated the people of the capital and

its environs from him as the patron of these licensed brigands.* Even his brave and devoted partisan Rājendra-giri Gosāin created bitter indignation in Muslim society by his impartial strictness in revenue collection in the district of Saharanpur, where he humbled "the leading landholders of the place,—Sayyids of Bārha, Afghans ond Gujars, who had never obeyed any *faujdār* before," —selling their women and children into bondage (which was the customary punishment of debtors and revenue-defaulters), while his Muslim predecessors had probably been equally harsh but had spared Sayyids and Shaikhs. [*T.Ah.* 44, 121a.]

Safdar Jang's main reliance was on his Turkish soldiers, styled in Indian history as *Mughalia* and *Kula-posh* ("hat men" from their red Turkish caps), because the native Persians of Aryan stock and Shia faith made very poor soldiers But these men were united to him solely by the cash nexus, and the higher bid in pay and honours made by Imād with the Emperor's authority easily induced them to desert to that side; their natural sympathies,—if any warmed their venal bosoms, were with Imād-ul-mulk and Intizām, both Turks by race and recognised leaders of the Central Asian settlers in India

### § 4 *Imād-ul-mulk appointed Mir Bakhshi*

But the greatest blunder of Safdar Jang was the promotion of young Imād-ul-mulk to the highest power and dignity, from a misreading of his character When the first report of Ghāzi-ud-din's death reached Delhi (on 29th October, 1752), his family feared that the needy Emperor, at Intizām's instigation, would seize the treasure stored in his Delhi mansion His young son Shihābuddin, coached by his tutor Aqibat Mahmud Kashmiri, at once went to Safdar Jang's house and from nine o'clock of that night till the noon of next day sat down there weeping and crying in utter misery; he would listen to no consolation, nor consent to eat or drink anything To Safdar Jang's words of sympathy

* "Suraj Mal looted Old Delhi, whose population was equal to, or rather a little bigger than, that of Shah Jahan's city; the life property and family-honour (*i.e.*, women) of the people were destroyed, and no one could escape from the Jat plunderers even by taking refuge in a holy man's house." *Siyar*, iii 48. The reference is to Safdar Jang's spiritual guide (*pir*) Khwajah Md. Bāsit. [*Bayān*, 279.]

he replied (as taught by Aqibat), "You are my father, and as the late Ghāziuddin was a brother to you, I have therefore really lost my paternal uncle You are my only defender and patron now." His persistence wore Safdar Jang out and at last the wazir vowed that the orphan would in future find a father in him He made Shihāb-ud-din (in sign of full brotherhood) exchange turbans with his son and heir Shujā-ud-daulah, took him inside his harem, where his wife unveiled herself before Shihāb like a mother to her son, and finally he promised that he would use all his influence with the Emperor to secure the orphan's succession to his father's property, estates and even office Then only could the youth be induced to break his fast

When the days of mourning for Ghāziuddin were over, Safdar Jang took Shihābuddin to Court and persuaded the reluctant Emperor to appoint him Mir Bakhshi (Paymaster-General of the Empire) with the titles of Ghāzi-ud-din Khān Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Amir-ul-umārā, Imād-ul-mulk (12 Dec 1752) and later Nizām-ul-mulk, Asaf Jāh Thus a boy of 16, absolutely untrained in war, who had come straight out of the hands of priests and eunuchs, became the executive head of the army of an empire threatened by Afghāns on the west and Marāthas on the south Ahmad Shah of Delhi and the people of the empire, no less than Safdar Jang, lived to rue this choice Safdar Jang, was destined to be undeceived in a few months and to know that this smooth-spoken helplessly clinging lad was the deadliest viper that he could have ever nursed in his bosom; two successive Emperors of Delhi were put to death by him and the heir to the throne could save his life from him only by going into exile.

## § 5. *Safdar Jang's domineering conduct after the murder of Jāvid.*

Safdar Jang's grasping spirit knew neither shame nor moderation, and soon set everybody except his personal retainers against him. Though the aggrieved officers and dispossessed nobles durst not say anything against him at the noontide of his power, they at once rallied in open hostility to him as soon as a centre of opposition was opened by a great noble with the Emperor's support,

and then his fall was swift We shall now trace the steps by which this result was brought about

Safdar Jang, in addition to snatching away the wazir-ship which the Turanis regarded as their hereditary property, had done them an unfriendly turn at the beginning of his office He had secured to himself the transfer of the Sarhind district from the hands of Intizām-ud-daulah who had hitherto held it as second *bakhshi* in assignment for the salary of the 5,000 Turkish soldiers of the Emperor. The entire Turāni race murmured at this loss, the soldiers of their blood starved, and though there was no open breach at that time, the seed of discord was sown so early In June 1752 he had bullied the Emperor into transferring to him all the *jāgir* lands throughout the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad, with the result that the numerous petty officers to whom the rents of these estates had been hitherto assigned were now deprived of their livelihood by one stroke of the pen Next, he caused the *faujdāri* of Saharanpur, worth Rs 6,000 a month, to be taken away from the Emperor's maternal uncle's son and given to his own follower Rājendra-giri Similarly, the Emperor was forced to yield to the wazir all the Crownlands in Etāwa and Korā as well as in Safdar's two *subahs* [*TAh* 15*b*, 37*b*, 38*a* ]

Jāvid Khan was killed in the evening of 27th August, 1752 Safdar Jang, after removing his sole rival, took prompt measures to establish his own domination Jāvid Khān's property was escheated and his estate-manager and personal valet were confined to make them disgorge his treasures On the fourth day after the murder, the wazir nominated his retainer Abu Turāb Khān *qiladār* and police-superintendent of the palace-fort in order to gain a strangle-hold on the Emperor in the inmost recess of his abode, and poor Ahmad Shah durst not object to it but gave the man his investiture of office But even so Safdar Jang's mind was not composed, he suspected that the Queen-mother would secretly correspond with his enemies He therefore kept his own watch at the entrance and exit of the imperial harem and sent eight women agents to stay in the ladies' quarter of the palace and read all letters that were sent out of it. But this was more than the Queen-mother, who ruled the palace, could bear, she angrily turned these spies out and Safdar Jang shrank from a contest with her. He sulked in his mansion in the city, refusing to

attend Court unless his mind was reassured The Emperor had to yield, on 23rd September he with his mother paid a visit to the wazir's house and brought him back to the palace,—for the first time after Javid Khan's death The unhappy king of kings had to stoop still lower On 28th September he pledged his word to Safdar Jang not to make any appointment without his consent. A wholesale transfer of posts now took place. Safdar Jang's creatures displaced the old incumbents in numerous minor offices On that day the wazir's youthful son Shujā-ud-daulah was given charge of four important departments around the Emperor's person, namely, the *āhadis*, confirmation of appointments and grants, mace-bearers, and personal riding establishment, and finally on 1st January 1753 he was made superintendent of Private Audience, with full control over the *entree* to the Emperor's Court such as Jāvid Khan had exercised in his time. [*TAh* 41*a*—43*a*, *D C*]

## § 6 *Safdar Jang offends Emperor and the nobility*

With a creature of his own in military command of the palace, Safdar Jang began to restrict admissions to the Emperor's presence as he pleased. "The new *qiladār* used to stand at the gate of the fort and Kishan Narayan (the son of the wazir's agent Rajah Lachhmi Narayan) at the gate of the Private Audience Hall and control the business of *entree*, so that no *mansabdār* whose duty it was to mount guard inside the fort,—except the horse and foot of the artillery department then under the wazir's son and the necessary eunuchs, footmen, and office-clerks of the palace, could come within the fort. Further, the wazir issued an order that no soldier should enter the fort on horseback or with arms on, and this rule struck at the escort of the nobles. They therefore, feeling insulted and alarmed, gave up their visits to the Emperor On Friday, 14th September, Ahmad Shah rode out to offer his public prayers in the wooden mosque within the fort (enshrining the Prophet's relics removed from the *Jām'a masjid*), but no grandee joined his *cortege* and even the officers marked for guard duty that day were absent He asked, "Is it that the *qiladār* does not admit them, or that the *wazir* has forbidden their entrance?" The *qiladār* gave the evasive reply, "I admit every

one who comes If none will come what can I do?" *Darbārs* were announced for 16th and 17th September, but no noble other than Safdar Jang's partisans attended, and when the Emperor sent for the chief absentees they begged to be excused on the plea of illness, Intizām was said to have been taking China wood for three months, and held back from the Court even after the other absentees had been induced to attend. [*TAh.* 41*b*-43*a*.]

The Emperor keenly resented being reduced to the condition of a captive cut off from free intercourse with society by Safdar Jang's partisans. A dictator under whom the capital was insulted by a permanent camp of Marāthas at its gates, the provinces passed out of the Central Government's control and the royal household officials and troops all starved, was sure to provoke a universal revolt against his unwholesome domination.

On 22nd October 1752 a Marātha force, about 3500 strong encamped at Tālkatorā, four miles south-west of Delhi, and another body of 4,000 horse came to the Kālkā hillock on 6th February 1753. The lawful *faujdār* of Sarhind was driven out by another man, but the Delhi Government took no action against the usurper. The salary of the Emperor's household servants was nearly two years in arrears, but after a month spent in discussion the Treasury could pay their dues for four months only, as the coming of revenue from the Crownlands had been stopped by usurpation and disorder. The Court annalist laments, "From this the condition of the troops and of the nobility can be guessed. None save the wazir had a sufficiency of soldiers How then could enemies be defeated and the country brought under control? The empire was totally ruined . . . The wazir took away what he liked from the Crownlands, so that not a pice reached the Emperor's treasury. This wazir was an impoverisher of his master." [*TAh.* 43*b*-44*b*, 47*a* ]

In November came reports of the Abdali's preparations for a fresh invasion of the Panjab, and all people from Lahor to Delhi were alarmed. The wazir proposed that the Emperor should march in person to defend the frontier. The Emperor very properly replied that there was no soldier or war-equipment under him, but he was prepared to go *alone* if the wazir thought it any good ! He continued, "You are the sole centre of the Govern-

ment now; all the realm and its income are in your hands Try to collect money for paying the troops and making preparations for my march" The wazir was silenced by this speech But a month later the anxiety from this quarter was deepened On 8th December the wazir reported that news had repeatedly come of the Abdāli's marching towards Lāhor and that it was necessary for the Emperor to set out to oppose him, the 16th of the month being an auspicious day for starting The Emperor, on hearing this, grew thoughtful and in the evening after taking counsel with his mother answered, 'The condition of the troops and the country is evident to you. Try to find money anywhere you can." To this the wazir could give no reply [*T.Ah* 45]

The danger came still nearer. On 5th February 1753, an envoy from the Afghan king arrived at Delhi with a letter from his master and an escort of 2,000 horse The Abdali was halting on the frontier at Attock and demanded 50 *lakhs* of Rupees as tribute for the present year, otherwise he would advance in force upon Delhi The envoy was received in audience on the 13th The Emperor asked him to wait eight days for a reply and held a council All his nobles told him, "The Mārathas have undertaken to fight the Abdāli You have given them the two provinces of Agra and Ajmir, and the *chauth* of all the 24 *subahs*. You have paid them money and placed all authority in their hands. Ask *them* what should be done now" The wazir assured his master that the Marātha force at Delhi would be augmented to 10,000 in a fortnight and with his own contingent of 30,000 men, would constitute an army 40,000 strong for fighting the Pathan king While thus preparing for hostilities, the wazir detained the envoy under various pretexts, and then (on 22nd March) sent his away when the internal quarrel of the Delhi Court was about to burst in a civil war. [*S P D.*, xxi 53, 54, 55; *D C.*, *T.Ah* 46*b*, 49*a*]

### § 7. *Court conspiracy against Safdar Jang*

The general discontent with Safdar Jang's rule favoured the Queen-mother's plan for overthrowing him. This plot was secretly matured and at last carried out in March 1753 She had hitherto been the motive force of the Government on the side of

the Emperor "Every business was transacted by her Causing Khwajah Tamkin, Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan, Rajah Nāgar Mal (the diwan of Crownlnds) and other high officers to sit down before her audience chamber, she used to discuss affairs with them from behind a screen All petitions of demand (*mutālib*) from every part of the empire and closed envelopes that were sent to the harem were read out to her and she issued orders on them, which had to be carried out" [*T.Ah* 45*b*] The position of supreme authority made her the centre and spring of the coalition against the wazir. Intizām was the avowed enemy of Safdar Jang and openly kept away from the Court in fear of the wazir, while Safdar Jang always avoided passing by Intizām's mansion lest he should be shot at from within "The friction between the two daily increased The Emperor outwardly sided with Safdar Jang and humoured him, but secretly won Intizām over" Imād-ul-mulk, though a lad of 16 only, was the deepest of the plotters and averted all suspicion by professing to follow Safdar Jang while his heart was set on overthrowing him

For liberating the Emperor from Safdar Jang's bondage, the first necessary step was to clear the palace of the wazir's officers and to surround the sovereign's person with loyal troops and nobles antagonistic to the wazir Events quite naturally worked to this end The Courts now held by Ahmad Shah were attended only by the underlings of Safdar Jang The grandeur and concourse of the Delhi darbār was gone The Emperor keenly resented this falling off in splendour, and the higher society of Delhi and the general public were behind him in his desire to end Safdar Jang's usurped control over the Crown All things being ready, the Emperor secretly looked out for a partisan of his own to replace Shujā-ud-daulah as Chief of Artillery and ex-officio commander of the palace defences Noble after noble shrank from accepting a post which would be a challenge to the all-powerful wazir, but in the end a willing instrument was found Then the blow was struck, and in the following way.

### § 8. *Safdar Jang's men expelled from Delhi fort*

From the beginning of March 1753 Delhi was shaken by frequent rumours of an impending clash between the wazir and

Intizām, the Emperor discreetly pretending to be a peace-maker between the two and an open supporter of Safdar Jang Great confusion and alarm reigned in the city almost every day. On the 13th of that month, the wazir sent his eunuch Tamkin at midnight to the Emperor to say, 'I have heard that Intizām wants to make a night attack upon me I too have got my troops ready." The Emperor sent two slaves of his own to Intizam, who denied having made any hostile preparations or even wishing for such a thing, but the reply did not pacify Safdar Jang Next morning, when the news of the incident became public the bazars were filled with tumult and clamour the traders removed their goods from their shops to places of greater safety, every one collected in his house what armed guards he could hire, the Marathas assembled before the mansion of Intizām In the belief that the riot might overflow into the palace, the men of the artillery and the mansabdārs of the imperial body guard and retinue (*khās-chauki* and *jilau-i-khās*) flocked into the fort for its defence, and thus there was a large gathering of soldiers around the Emperor In the course of the next three days, the two rivals, in obedience to the Emperor's repeated orders, withdrew their troops from the city, and this particular tumult ceased

The Emperor now felt himself not so helpless as before On 17th March he called Shujā-ud-daulah's deputy as Chief of Artillery and censured him, "The qiladār prevents my servants from coming within It has even been reported to me that the wazir's men enter the fort, sit down in the ante-room (of the Hall of Select Audience) and admit whomsoever they like. What do you call this?" The deputy Mir Atish could only offer excuses and became filled with despair The officers of the artillery department, taking their cue, gave up going to him for their orders

That very night, about 9 p m , a clamour rose in the fort that the wazir was coming with a large force to enter it. At this rumour all the mansabdārs and palace servants took up arms in defence of their ruler The Emperor ordered the artillery captains to go outside the fort and take post before the gate. Abu Turāb Khan, the *qiladār*, fled from the fort in great agitation to the wazir The alarm was entirely false, but it had done its work; Safdar Jang's agent had been peacefully expelled from the palace A great tumult raged in the city throughout that night,

and no one could sleep The guns on the fort walls were loaded and trained on Safdar Jang's house (the former mansion of Dāra Shukoh) which they commanded

With the morning the truth became known and the alarm ceased Safdar Jang had been cleverly outmanœuvred, without a blow being struck he had been deprived of the command of the palace, and soon his miscalculation was to make him lose control of the capital too On the 18th, the Emperor tried to console the wazir by presenting him with his own turban (a mark of full brotherhood) Safdar Jang believed that he could still coerce his master. In reply he wrote to say, "As your Majesty's heart has been turned away from me, order me to go away to any place you like. Out of my cash and effects, pay the dues of my soldiers and escheat the remainder Confer my wazir-ship and other posts on such other men as your Majesty may please " The Emperor took him at his word, and immediately wrote to him in his own hand, permitting him to retire to his subah of Oudh, but leaving his offices and property untouched On the 23rd, the customary robes and presents of the ceremony of giving *congé* were sent to Safdar Jang by the Emperor and his mother, and he sent his advance-tents out of the city to the first halting place, Nurābād, but delayed starting on the plea of lack of porters

At last, finding his position no way improved, Safdar Jang set out from his mansion within the city of Delhi on 26th March As he came opposite the palace, his dismounted from his elephant, turned his face to the imperial abode, and made a low *salam* to his invisible master. There was a drizzle at the time, and as he looked up drops of rain fell into his eyes and mingled with his tears. It was really the end of his wazirship, though he knew it not. The Emperor was now set free and the nobles and all other subjects regained their access to him The old imperial darbār was now revived after six months' eclipse during Safdar Jang's usurped dictatorship, and every noble and officer in Delhi flocked to it.*

* *TAh.* 47*b*-49*a*, *Siyar* iii. 46, *Muz.*, 69; *Ch Gul* 408*b*, Shākir 72. I have followed *TAh* only The following account is given in a letter written to the Peshwā from Delhi on 28 March 1753 by Antāji Mānkeshwar: —"The Kh Kh, the Mir Bakhshi, and [the late] Kh. Daurān's son (*i.e.*, Samsām) have conspired for a month to bring the wazir to the fort for

§ 9. *Stages in the war between Emperor and Safdar Jang, 1753.*

The civil war between Safdar Jang and the Emperor, which may be taken to have commenced on 26th March 1753, and ended with Safdar Jang's return after defeat towards Oudh on the following 7th of November, falls into three clearly marked stages. The first six weeks (26th March—8 May) passed without any hostile action, as both sides were equally unwilling to precipitate a clash of arms, Safdar Jang roving aimlessly round the city, unable to make up his mind whether he should peacefully depart or rise against his king and master, and his rivals at Court setting about to enlist troops and hire Marātha and Afghān allies. This stage was terminated by the arrival of Suraj Mal and Salābat Khan in the wazir's camp (on 1st and 4th May respectively) and their inducing him to take up an openly aggressive policy, of which the first out come was the plunder of Old Delhi by the Jāts (9th May). In the second stage (9th May—4 June), there was declared war between the two sides, and Safdar Jang seemed to be on the point of triumphing, while his opponents were cooped up helplessly within the walled city. But with the arrival of the Ruhelas under Najib Khan to the Emperor's aid (2nd June) the tide turned, the first evidence of which was the failure of Safdar Jang's grand assault on Delhi on 5th June. The third (5th June—7th November) went steadily but decisively against Safdar Jang, and was heralded by the Court party's advance out of the walled city and their occupation of Old Delhi. Gradually, in spite of almost

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a private consultation and there despatch him and then give the wazir-ship to Kh-Kh. Bāpu Rāo Hingané showed me the Emperor's letter ordering 5,000 Maratha horse to be mustered and counted in his presence. So, I got ready and went [to the fort] Kh Kh and the other two also came there armed and ready. The Emperor sent a letter to the wazir asking him to come quickly for an urgent business. But his step-mother Malika-uz-zamāni secretly sent out of the palace a letter to the wazir informing him of the treachery and bidding him not to come. Then the wazir got 25,000 of his troops and artillery ready and came [to the fort gate] saying that he would settle accounts with the man who had played this trick, imprison Ahmad Shah, and set up another Emperor. A great tumult raged in the city. The Emperor repeatedly sent messages to the Marātha envoy, saying, "All my hope is in you. I am Bālāji Rao's man. Save my life.'" [*Aiti. Patr.*, ii. 86.] This is supported by *TAh* and generally by *Bayān* 275

daily skirmishes and internal troubles with the mutinous soldiers the imperialists pushed the rebels further and further back, till at last the country for 22 miles south of Delhi, as far as Ballabhgarh, was wrested by the Emperor's men, and finally on 7th November Safdar Jang accepted defeat and set his face towards his own subah, leaving all his political ambitions behind

§ 10 *Why the contest turned against Safdar Jang.*

In the first stage of inaction and waiting on events, every day that passed told against Safdar Jang and in favour of his enemies At the outset, the force under him was overwhelming, his enemies unorganised, divided and friendless But that disadvantage was rapidly remedied by Imād's tireless industry, power of knitting men together, and genius for grasping every opportunity as it came, and this six weeks' respite enabled his hired Marātha and Ruhelā allies to reach Delhi, while it ate up Safdar Jang's treasure in inaction Safdar Jang did not at first realise the value of the advantage which the possesion of the Emperor and the capital gave his enemies After the dismissal of Safdar Jang from the wazir-ship (13th May), no order in the Emperor's name could be issued by him, he was manifestly a rebel and a traitor to his master The fountain of honour and the source of legality had been left behind him in Delhi, in the hands of Intizām, the new wazir So, every Rājput chief who hankered for a high title or elevation above his peers, every captain of mercenaries who wished to be promoted to the rank of a landed baron, every Marātha general eager to secure the legal surrender of imperial territory or the grant of *chauth* in return for his sword, looked up solely to the Emperor cooped up within the walls of Delhi And within those walls were also the hostages unwittingly given by Safdar Jang to his rivals For, thanks to the Jāt depredations and Marātha raids of the last few years, no man of wealth, no man who valued the honour of his women, ventured to live in the open country; they all lodged within the city of Delhi And most of Safdar Jang's chief partisans and officers naturally took houses in the capital when he was wazir In addition, even the common soldiers of the Turkish race (popularly called *Mughalia*) who were the backbone of Safdar's army, had left their families and house-

hold goods in the quarter of Delhi called Mughal pura, which had been colonised by their race ever since the days of the Khilji Sultans at the end of the 13th century After Safdar Jang had once gone into open rebellion, he could not protect them from pillage and outrage by the Emperor's party unless he made himself master of the capital, which was an impossible feat for him It was this fact that made his ultimate defeat so complete and so ruinous to his partisans

§ 11. *Interval of hesitation, Emperor's defence organised*

Safdar Jang had issued from Delhi on 26th March but was in no haste to go to his own province He lingered in the environs, pleading lack of transport, but really in the expectation that the Emperor would come down on his knees, as he had done so often before, and recall him to the Court armed with supreme authority He could not at first imagine,—and hardly anybody else imagined—that armed opposition to him was possible So, from his camp in the suburbs he held daily parleys with the Emperor and sent challenges to his rivals who lay safely sheltered within the walls of the capital Safdar Jang was unwilling to raise his hand against his royal master; the fate of the Sayyid brothers was before him [*Bayān*, 277, *TAh.* 50*b*-51*a*, *Ch Gul* 408*b*, *Muz* 69; *Siyar*, iii 46 ]

After the *coup d'etat* of 17th March, by which the Emperor recovered control of his palace-fort, though Safdar Jang continued as wazir, his agents Khwājah Tamkin and Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan were no longer admitted to the presence for reporting his proposals and taking the Emperor's orders as before, but they were detained outside and all business between the Emperor and the wazir was conducted through Hakim Alavi Khan II, who was physician to both Ahmad Shah pressed Safdar Jang to go back to his *subah* immediately, but the wazir delayed Then he began to increase his army and called up his fighting lieutenant Rājendra-giri from Saharanpur to his side

But he lost Imād-ul-mulk. This youngman had hitherto professed to be a *protégé* of Safdar Jang and had been sent by the wazir on the day of the first alarm (17th March) as his envoy to Intizām's house to negotiate for a compromise with that chief Imād spent a day and a night there as Intizām's guest,

outwardly discussing terms but secretly making a pact with him for concerted action in the coming war against the wazir. Three weeks after Safdar Jang's issuing from Delhi, Imād threw off the mask, and began to actively organise the forces of the Court party. The Queen-mother gave him two *krores* from her own treasury, which was supplemented by 70 *lakhs* from his father's hoards, for levying troops. He summoned the Marātha envoy Bāpu Mahādev Hingane and told him to concentrate the Marātha soldiers from different places at Delhi, so that there was soon a force of 4,000 there under Antāji Mānkeshwar. The two sides began to bid against each other for Marātha support. In return for Bāpu Rāo's promise to bring 5,000 Deccani horse and place them under the Emperor's orders, he was given two *farmāns* granting the *subahdāri* of Allahabad and Oudh to the Peshwā on condition of his defeating the *wazir*. Against this, Safdar Jang offered *jāgirs* yielding ten lakhs of Rupees a year and appealed to his old association with Malhar Holkar in the Doab campaigns, but in vain. With unerring instinct Bāpu Rāo backed the Emperor, because the one constant aim of the Peshwā was to secure for the viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan a noble who would be subservient to him, so that the Marāthas would be *de facto* rulers of the South.* Intizām attended the Court on 14th April, for the first time after the murder of Jāvid Khan. [*TAh* 48*b*. *Muz* 66. *Imād* 63.]

§ 12. *How Safdar Jang began the war*

Safdar Jang had been roving aimlessly in the suburbs of Delhi, passing from the north by the west to the south of the city. One contemporary [*Bayān*, 277] says that Safdar Jang shrank from assaulting the city at the outset when his military superiority was at its height and his enemies unprepared, because he wished to spare the citizens all the horrors of a sack, and was confident that the mere terror of his arms would compel the Court party to sue for peace. But every day that passed in inaction only lessened the difference in strength

* Antaji Mankeshwar, the jealous rival of Hingané had been made a 4-*hazari* through Shujā-ud-daulah on 17 Jan. 1753 (*D.C.*), but he now went over to the Turanis, and was presented to the Emperor on 19th April, and promoted in rank. *TAh.* 50*b*; *Aitih. Patr.* ii 86.

between the two parties and exhausted his finances The feeding of Safdar Jang's vast army and horde of camp followers soon became a serious problem, which could end only in disorder and conflict On 22nd April he ordered Rājendra-giri to go to the eastern side of the Jamuna and bring in provisions from the villages there (all of which belonged to the Crownlands or the estates of nobles), by any means he could, which meant plunder This act of violence stopped the grain supply of Delhi and sharply raised food-prices in the capital The Emperor wrote to protest, but the wazir refused to recall his men and replied, "My enemies are Intizām and Imad, and my business is with *them* They have turned the Emperor against me Tell them to come out and fight me"* [*T.Ah* 51*b* – 52*a* ]

On 30th April, about two hours after dawn as Intizām and Imād were coming to the Court in *palkis*, two horsemen fired their muskets at them in front of the fort-gate, but missed both, one bullet merely grazing the stomach of Aqibat Mahmud who was just behind his master The miscreants dashed into the Jamunā and took the road to the wazir's camp, but one of them was captured and slain Imād began to engage troops, saying, "There is open enmity between the wazir and me, and I ought to fight." That day Salābat Khan (Sādat Kh Zulfiqār Jang), the late Mir Bakhshi, living in disgrace and confinement in his house since his dismissal in June 1751, was coaxed by two ex-queens into visiting the Court and was restored to the Emperor's favour.

### § 13. *Salābat Khan joins Safdar Jang and incites him to rebellion.*

Events moved apace with the commencement of May On the first of that month, Suraj Mal, now free from the bloody capture of Ghāserā fort (belonging to Bahādur Singh Bar-gujar) on 23rd April, came to the wazir's camp at his pressing call with 15,000 horse and advised a vigorous offensive. Three days later, Salābat Khan, when out on a pretended pilgrimage to Shāh

* Useful details of this civil war are given by Md. Sālih Qudrat in his *Tārikh-i-Alā*, which have been used by A L. Srivastava in his *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*

Mardan's shrine with his family, was collusively seized by a detachment from Safdar Jang's army and taken to the wazir's camp, where he was cordially welcomed and installed as the chief adviser and most honoured friend of Safdar Jang. Salābat, with a heart sore against his ungrateful young master and his new counsellors who despised the elder peers, taunted Safdar Jang with cowardice for having been turned out of power by "boys", when he had a splendid army that could have easily crushed the Court minions and re-established his own supremacy in Delhi "You ought to make an attempt to reform the administration, so that we may not be insulted by boys" [*Ch Gul.* 409*a*, *T.Ah* 52*b*, *Muz* 71 ]

So next day (5th May) the wazir despatched Rājendra-giri towards Bārāpula and Ismail Khan towards the village of Nagli (near the Jamunā), for attacking the mansions of the Turānis situated there. This outbreak of hostility caused great alarm and stir in the city, the Emperor wrote to a very near relative of the wazir to induce him to desist, but Safdar Jang haughtily replied, "Peace can be made only if the Mir Bakhshi-ship, the second Bakhshi-giri, and the subahdāri of Lahor and Multān are taken away from the Turānis and given to my nominees Imād and Intizām are to be banished from the Emperor's side Or else, know for certain that to-morrow I shall attack their houses, and the imperial fort too is near and within my view." [*T.Ah* 53*a* ]

An open rupture could no longer be averted On 8th May the Emperor dismissed Shujā from the command of the imperial Artillery and gave that post to Samsāmuddaulah (son of that Khan-i-Daurān who had fallen in the battle with Nādir Shah), and ordered the defensive entrenchments on the river strand to be pushed to completion These were now armed with guns of all calibres from the fort arsenal, under the Emperor's own eyes All the other offices held by Shujā, including the important ones of superintendence of the Private Audience and paymastership of the *ahadis*, were given to other men; and the *qiladāri* of the palace was formally transferred from Safdar Jang's agent (Abu Turāb Kh ) to Ahmad Angā.

### § 14 *Jats plunder Old Delhi*

The wazir shrank from a fight, but instigated Suraj Mal and Rājendra-giri to plunder Old Delhi, especially the grain-market and houses outside the Red Gate of Shah Jahan's new city This quarter contained no noble's or richman's mansion, but only the homes of middle class and poor men These were plundered and their families maltreated, through the thoughtless cruelty of Safdar Jang All who could left their houses in the Old City and flocked within the walls of New Delhi for refuge Next day (10th May) the Jats spread their devastation to other suburbs, like Sayyidwarā, Bijal masjid Tārkāganj, and Abdullahnagar (near Jaisinghpura), running the humbler people but drawing back where the inhabitants combined and offered resistance or where a few soldiers were present to hearten and guide them "The Jats plundered up to the gate of the city, lakhs and lakhs were looted, the houses were demolished, and all the suburbs (*purās*) and Churāmī and Wakilpurā were rendered totally lampless"* These ravages were long afterwards remembered by the Delhi populace under the name of *Jāt-gardi*, on a par with the raids of the Marathas and the Afghans. [*Imād* 63]

That evening, about three hours before sunset, the imperialists made a sortie from their trenches, attacked the advanced lines of the wazir's army which were held by Rājendra-giri and routed them by superior artillery fire; then they advanced their own trenches to the ferry of Lutf Ali The Maratha contingent of 4,000 under Antāji Mānkeshwar, though not yet taken into regular pay by the Emperor, distinguished itself in this first battle

The Jats every day plundered the city of Old Delhi Only those places were saved where the imperial detachments could

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* *T.Ah* 55*b*, *Bayān* 278, *Ch Gul* 410*a*, Shakir 74 "Suraj Mal looted Old Delhi, the population of which was equal to or even a little larger than that of Shahjahanabad; and the life, property and female honour of the people were destroyed. Even a holyman's house proved no safe refuge from Jat rapacity" (*Siyar*, iii 47-48) "Many citizens, on being unable to seek safety by flight, killed themselves in despair" (*Muz* 71) *Bayān* 278 says that the Qizil-bashes of the wazir's army joined in the plundering Suraj Mal's court eulogist grows more than usually prolix (14 pages) in describing this looting; *Sujan Charit*, vi *Jang*

arrive in time or which lay within the range of the imperial artillery. "All the people of Old Delhi and other suburbs fled to the New City with whatever property they could carry off, and the inhabitants of the New City, too, in fear of plunder, carried their valuables on their persons. They roamed from house to house, lane to lane, in despair and bewilderment, like a wrecked ship tossing on the waves, every one was running about like a lunatic, distracted, puzzled and unable to take care of himself." All the bazārs, lanes and houses were crammed with refugees The Emperor very considerately ordered the Sāhibābād garden (in Chandni Chauk), the Garden of Thirty Thousand, and other gardens and houses belonging to his Government to be vacated and given up to the people who wished to live in them. Vast crowds of people high and low went there Shopkeepers and artisans set up booths in them and engaged in their trades [*TAh.* 54*b* *Ch* *Gul* 410*b*]

### § 15. *Emperor dismisses Safdar Jang from office and declares war against him.*

There could be no compromise with the man who had caused such universal and wanton misery. So, the Emperor dismissed Safdar Jang and appointed Intizām *wazir* in his place, with the titles of Qamruddin Kh Bahādur and Itimād-ud-daulah (13th May), while Imād-ul-mulk, the Paymaster General, was invested with his grand-father's titles of Nizām-ul-mulk and Asaf Jāh. To this blow Safdar Jang replied by enthroning a lad of unknown birth, popularly believed to be a handsome young eunuch recently purchased by Shujā-ud-daulah, as Pādishāh under the name of Akbar Adil Shah, declaring him the grandson of Kām Bakhsh, and making himself his wazir and Salābat Kh. his Mir Bakhshi! [*TAh.* 54*b*, *Ch. Gul.* 409*b*, *Bayān*, 276; *Sujān Ch Jang.* vi.]

The contest had now reached a point where the two sides had at last drawn their swords and thrown the scabbards away. The Emperor sent off letters to all sides calling upon the zamindars, feudatory princes, Ruhelās and even noted Jat Mewāti and Gujar robber-chieftains to gather round him against the rebel ex-wazir and the pretender to the throne Imād and his manager Aqibat Mahmud organised the imperial defence. But two things

contributed most to the success of the Emperor, namely the seduction of Safdar Jang's Mughalia troops and the proclamation of a holy war (*jihād*) against Safdar Jang as a disloyal heretic (*nimak-harām rāfizi*) Imād worked upon Sunni fanaticism by issuing a decree signed by some theologians which denounced the ex-wazir as a Shia misbeliever, and called upon all true Muslims who honoured the first three Khalifs (cursed by the Shias) to join in a holy war against this heretic leader. The green banner of the Prophet was unfurled, and the public enthusiasm was roused to the boiling point in favour of the war This propaganda was vigorously worked by the Panjabis and the Kashmiris, the latter of whom had performed several bloody massacres of the Shias of their province in the reigns of Shah Jahān and Aurangzib, and even as recently as 1724 Most of the Ruhelās hitherto in Safdar Jang's pay hated him for being a Shia and readily rose to humble their political and spiritual foe at the passionate appeal of Najib Khan, and the rest left for their homes and stood neutral in this contest between faith and loyalty. [*Siyar* iii. 47, *Muz.* 73, *Imād,* 60]

Imād was a Turk himself and his grandfather the first Nizām and Intizām's father Qamruddin (Muhammad Shah's wazir) had been for a generation the recognised leaders of the Mughalias in India Imād now proclaimed in public that every Turkish soldier deserting Safdar's army would be given a bounty of Rs. 50 and advance pay for one month (Rs 50), their captains would be rewarded with gifts of horses, elephants, money, robes and jewels In addition to these temptations, the Mughalia soldiery of Safdar Jang were coerced into coming over to the imperial side by the threat of their homes in the Mughalpurā quarter being sacked and their women outraged by order of Imād Thus, in a short time, 23,000 soldiers, Turāni and Hindustani, deserted Safdar Jang's camp and came into the city and were enrolled in the *sin-dāgh* brigade, which was popularly called *Badakhshi.* The imperial side received a further accession of strength from the coming of the Ruhelās, 15,000 horse and foot under Najib Khan, and 2,000 Hindustanis under Jetā Singh Gujar, who had audience on 2nd June This completely turned the scale against Safdar

Jang and enabled the imperialists to undertake a bold and irresistible offensive*.

But the shrewdest blow which Imād struck at Safdar Jang was the confiscation of his adherents' houses in the city. The imperial artillery from its larger calibre and the high position of the city walls, commanded Safdar Jang's lines in the plain outside and forced him to keep at a safe distance from the walls. Mirzā Ali Khan (the third Bakhshi) and Salār Jang were brothers of Shujā-ud-daulah's wife, though they served on the Emperor's side in this civil war. Their mansion overlooked one part of the imperial trenches. Imād alleged that in the night preceding 17th May cannon-balls and rockets had fallen from the direction of this house on the trenches below. The Emperor, without holding any investigation, ordered the house to be plundered and the two brothers to be confined in charge of his harem superintendent. "Thus a multitude of people were ruined, because many men knowing that these two were Shuja's brothers-in-law on the one hand and the Emperor's followers on the other, considered it safest to lodge their women and property in this mansion. These suffered indiscriminately in the general sack." But this was only the beginning. The Emperor and his ministers were too needy to be just. The houses of every known follower of Safdar Jang of every Persian by birth, and of many innocent men who were merely suspected of being Safdar Jang's partisans, but whose only crime was their wealth, were plundered by the imperialists, at first under orders and latterly at the private initiative of each cap-

* *Siyar* iii 47, *TAh* 56*a*, Shākir 74, *Imād* 63, *Bayān* 277. Originally the Qizilbāsh or Turki troops of Sādat Khan, governor of Oudh (d. 1739) were called *Sin dāgh* because their horses were branded with *sin*, the first letter of the word *Sādat*.

"Imād, inspite of his youth being then only 17 or 18 years of age, exerted himself to the utmost in collecting troops, spent on them the vast treasures hoarded by his father and grandfather, and distributed the horses of his own stable and his artillery among them. The Queen-mother, though a dancing-girl by origin, surpassed the begams and Shāhzadas of pure breed in this work. She used to issue orders about the movements of the troops from within the *jharoka* window, she sat behind a screen in the chapel close to the *Diwān-i-khās*, holding discussions with the nobles, and spent on the army her own treasures and the gold and silver vessels in the imperial stores inside and outside the harem. Hence, the Emperor's strength increased, and despair seized Safdar Jang." *TAh.* 56*a* & *b*.

tain and in spite of the Emperor's prohibition This total ruin fell on the ex-wazir's party everywhere within the Emperor's reach [Shākir 74 *T.Ah* 55*b*, *Ch Gul* 411*b*, *Bayān* 279 ]

## § 16 *Safdar Jang's grand assault on Delhi fails, he evacuates Kohtilā*

We shall now trace only the outline of the main course of this civil contest, omitting the daily skirmishes and raids The 17th of May was signalised by Safdar Jang's capture of the Kohtilā of Firuz Shah, three miles south of New Delhi The ex-wazir entered the Old City by the Kabuli Gate and in concert with the imperial officers of the Wālāshahi regiment who were posted in the Kohtilā he was admitted within it Imad's generals Sādal Khan and Devidat, entering by other lanes, fought Safdar Jang. The battle continued till sunset when both forces retired to their bases, after heavy losses to each At night Safdar Jang renewed the attack and took the Kohtilā, mounted guns on its hillock and sent shots into the imperial fort On the other hand, the heavy guns on the southernmost gate of the city (Delhi Darwāzā) which commanded the Kohtilā demolished many of its bastions and ramparts [*T.Ah* 55*b* ]

The fifth of June witnessed a grand assault on the city walls by the rebels Ismail Khan and other generals of the ex-wazir, posted in the Kohtilā, wanted to capture the mansion of the new wazir Intizām, which abutted on the southern ramparts of New Delhi. They dug a mine from a large house midway between and carried it under the bastion of the city wall Early in the morning of 5th June this mine was fired a part of the bastion fell down, and one house attached to the wazir's mansion was blown up, killing 200 men who were engaged in counter-mining. Then Safdar Jang's troops delivered an assault from the river's edge (*reti*), but 4,000 Turki soldiers opposed them from the grounds of Intizām's mansion, while the imperial trenches in the neighbourhood discharged all their guns at the assailants The Ruhelās under Najib Khan advanced from the trenches and engaged at close quarters The rebels turned to flight abandoning their most advanced field guns But a large reinforcement of Jats and Qizilbāshes entered the field to restore the fight, while the imperialists replied by pushing up fresh troops The battle was long

and obstinate, Najib and his brother were wounded by bullets and three to four hundred of his clansmen were slain. On Safdar's side there was heavy loss, (but the "10,000 killed and many wounded" of *TAh.* 57*a* is an exaggeration ) All night the guns and rockets continued booming, but about two hours before dawn Safdar's men evacuated the Kohtilā, the imperialists entered the place and seized the artillery which the rebels had not been able to remove, including a very large gun. From this elevation the victors began to bombard Safdar Jang's tents with effect, and he was forced to withdraw his camp further away from the city It was a great relief for the city, because shots and rockets from Safdar's raised batteries in the Kohtilā used to fall within the walls of Delhi. [*TAh* 56*b*-57*b*, *Bayān*, 279-280 ]

This was a decisive repulse and the credit of it belonged to the newly arrived Ruhelās The struggle now assumed a desultory character. Safdar Jang and his Jats roved round the city, plundering this suburb or that, and the imperialists rushing to the attacked post, driving them out, and establishing a new outpost there or strengthening the old one The war went steadily against Safdar Jang In each of the daily skirmishes he lost some men and in the severer battles very heavily, especially his Jat allies in the battle of the Idgāh on 12th June

## § 17 *Death of Rājendra-giri Gosain.*

But the greatest disaster fell on Safdar Jang nine days after his failure to storm Delhi. On 14th June, about 2½ hours before sunset, he delivered a general attack on all the imperial trenches The brunt of the fighting fell on the Jats and Qizilbāshes of the ex-wazir, while the Badakhshis and Marāthas on the imperial side suffered heavy losses But Imād himself rode into the trenches from the Idgāh and cheered his men by his personal example. At last the attack was beaten back and the victorious imperialists returned to their tents at midnight This evening Rājendra-giri when attacking Kālipahāri, received a musket shot* and died of

* *Imād*, p. 64 says that Rājendra-giri was shot dead by a man at the instigation of Ismail Khan, as the two generals were rivals for the first place in their master's favour But if he was really shot from behind, I ascribe it to the bad marksmanship and reckless firing for which Indian troops were notorious.

it the next day "At the death of Rajendra-giri Safdar Jang became heart-broken Thereafter he never went forth personally into any battle When this fearless *faqir* died, none was left on Safdar's side eager to fight" [*T.Ah* 59a]

This fighting monk used to enter the battlefield inspired by the Berserker rage He had no regular time for fighting, nor did he wait for concerted action with the other generals or even take the previous permission of his chief, which was a strict custom in that age He used to rush upon the enemy whenever he saw an opening or the lust of battle fired his blood His disciples were all desperate fighters like him and used to charge artillery in utter recklessness. So superior was this band of death-defying warriors to the mercenary soldiers of the time that Safdar Jang could refuse nothing to Rājendra-giri This Hindu abbot was permitted by the imperial Chancellor to beat his kettledrums mounted on horses (an honour granted only to the highest rank in the Mughal peerage) and never to *salām* Safdar Jang like a servant but to bless him like a Pope! He was popularly believed to be a magician, invulnerable to sword or bullet [*Imād*, 64, *Siyar*, iii 47.]

For ten days after this the fighting was suspended But each day more desertions from Safdar's side took place and the strength of the imperialists increased,* and they took up new positions outside the city, pushing the rebels further and further away.

## § 18 *Desultory warfare*

When the ten days of enforced truce expired, the faint-hearted and futile character of the fighting that followed is well

* The forces that came to the Emperor's aid were — Antaji Mankeshwar with 4,000 tr (*T.Ah* 50a) presented on 19 Apr Najib Kh with 15,000 horse and foot and Jeta Gujar with 2,000, 2nd June (50b) Bahādur Khan Baluch (58a) Two Hindu zamindars of Rewari (1700 tr), one of Anupnagar (1700 tr), and Sayyid Qutb Pirzada (4,000) on 18 June [58b.] From Sadullah of Aonla (5,000 tr) on 27 June [59b] Jamaluddin Kh. (3,300) sent by Muin, 11 July [62b] Ahmad Bangash's troops (reach Dasna on 15 July, 63b.) Muslim zamindar of Kunjpura (5,000) on 19 July [64b.] Bikanir contingent (7,500) on 21 July [65b.] The total of these was about 57,000, to which must be added 23,000 men of the *Sur-dāgh*, deserters from Safdar Jang.

illustrated in the Court historian's narrative "In the morning both sides stood to arms, but only light skirmishes took place, the guns continued firing till sunset, when the two armies withdrew to their camps" Safdar Jang's cause was now manifestly hopeless Every day saw some important officers leaving him Negotiations were immediately opened by Suraj Mal with the new wazir. Safdar Jang fell further and further back; the Marāthas looted the rear of his huge camp "Every day Safdar Jang appeared, morning noon or evening, skirmished a little, and then went back The war was prolonged" [*TAh* 59*b*-61*b* ]

By this time (19th July) Safdar Jang had retreated to a position about 15 miles south of the city, between Badarpur and Faridābād The imperialists advanced over the ground abandoned by him and stretched their lines from the Jamunā westwards to the hillock of Kālkā-devi A detachment from their army also sacked some villages near Tughlaqabad, bringing away money, property, cattle, men and women as spoils from them, but when besieging a mud-walled village named Garhi Maidān this force of Ruhelās was routed by a Jat army in the midst of a heavy shower (25th July) and all its guns and arms captured [*TAh* 64*a*, 66*a*, 70 *Sujān Ch Jang* vi 4 ] On 19th August there was a severe fight at certain points on the long line from Tughlaqābād to the Jamunā, but artillery predominated and in the evening the rebels retired baffled Safdar Jang fell back nine miles to Sikri (3 miles south of Ballabhgarh), on 1st September, when Imād pushed on to Faridābād and beyond to two miles from the rebel position "On the day of his entry into Faridābād, his soldiers plundered all the inhabitants of the place; the Mir Bakhshi forbade it, but none would listen to him" Such is war. The poor innocent civil population was plundered by each side in succession as it passed through their village

At this time the Ruhelā Baluch and Gujar auxiliaries who formed the vanguard of the imperial army, starving from arrears of pay, left their posts and withdrew to Bārāpula (near the southern gate of Delhi) and sat down idly "At the time of their coming they plundered the travellers on the road and the inhabitants of Bārāpula"—all loyal to their sovereign! Even the men of the imperial heavy artillery left their trenches and came back to the city in anger

Seizing this opportunity, Safdar Jang made a bold advance over the abandoned ground On 6th September he delivered an attack "with a countless force" on the trenches, but was defeated as Imād pushed up fresh troops His Jat allies plundered all wayfarers and grain merchants passing between the city and the imperial trenches, up to eleven miles of the walls of Delhi Next day (8th September) the Jat rovers were out again No grain could reach the royal army and Imād was filled with despair at this turn in the fortunes of his party On 12th September he went from the trenches to the palace and pleaded with the Emperor and the Queen-mother for the granting of treasure to pay the troops and the sending up of reinforcements, but after three hours of fruitless discussion he returned to his mansion, saying in disgust, "I have done what I could up till now Let the Emperor henceforth entrust his work to some one else" During his absence, Safdar Jang surprised and cut off the outposts left by him north of Faridābād, at Sarāi Khwajah Bakhtawar, Badarpur and other places [*TAh 70b-72b* ]

These struggles were strangely intermixed with peace overtures from Safdar and Suraj Mal to the new wazir, in order to spite Imād who was all for war At last a treacherous night raid by the returning Jat escort of the wazir's peace envoys upon the imperial trenches from the north or Delhi side in concert with Safdar Jang's men who attacked the same sector from the south or Faridābād side, caused such heavy slaughter as to turn the capital against the idea of making any peace with these false traitors The peace negotiations were cut short (22nd Sept )

### § 19 *Grand battle of 29 September*

At last Najib Khan was paid a portion of his dues and induced to return to the trenches near Faridābād with his Ruhela contingent (24 Sep ) Gun munition was also sent there from the fort Thus strengthened Imād issued from the city to meet the rebels once more On 29th September, Suraj Mal and other generals of Safdar Jang in full force and with many big guns and smaller pieces, assaulted the trenches of the Marāthas on the right wing of the imperialist position, which had no large artillery A severe fight raged in which many Marāthas were slain, but a constant stream of reinforcements sustained an even battle, till

at last Imād and Najib arrived on the scene and made gallant charges. Imād fearlessly drove his elephant into the enemy ranks. One elephant carrying his banner was killed, the elephant he was riding had its tusks broken by shot He then took horse, charged and routed the Jats Vast numbers were slain on both sides; Ismail Khan was wounded with a spear thrust. Imād pursued the flying enemy for four miles and returned to his tents at sunset The victors followed up their success next day by driving the rebels further south and advancing close to Ballabhgarh [*TAh.* *75b-76a* ]

## § 20. *Emperor's cowardice prevents decisive victory*

But though the imperialists repulsed every attack of Safdar Jang and steadily pushed him further away from the capital, they gained no decisive victory. Of this failure to reap the utmost fruits of their military superiority, the Emperor's cowardice was the sole cause. Imād, Najib, and other generals again and again urged him to order an attack in full force and to ride out personally to the field to hearten his troops. But Ahmad Shah had not the heart to join a battle even from the safety of the rear. On 29th June Imād had come from his tent in the Idgāh trenches and told the Emperor and the Queen-mother, "I have spent all the accumulated hoards of my father and grandfather in paying my soldiers and they are now pressing me for their remaining dues. If the Emperor wishes to fight he must delay no longer. If he has decided on peace, let me disband my troops" On 11th July Najib Khan Ruhelā and Bahādur Kh Baluch told Ahmad Shah that a large army had gathered under his banners by that time and that trench warfare would greatly delay a decision and increase the cost of feeding the troops, and therefore a battle in the open was the best policy As the result of the discussion, the 16th of July was fixed for such an attack. On that day Imād came to the palace and repeatedly entreated the Emperor to ride forth lest shame and loss should fall upon his arms, but Ahmad gave no reply Again, on 26th July Imad came from the fighting front and urged the Emperor to the utmost to order a pitched battle and to join it himself But the Emperor by advice of the wazir declined and "the Queen-mother sent Imād to his home with smooth speeches"! [*TAh* 63a-66b.]

This delay in achieving a military decision ruined the Emperor's finances. The cost of the huge army (80,000 men at least) gathered round him idly standing under arms month after month exhausted his treasures, jewels, gold plate, all his mother's hoards, the property in the imperial stores and factories, and the spoils of the daily sack of Safdar Jang's followers and suspected partisans in the city Almost every day some regiment or other of unpaid soldiers left their trenches and rioted in the streets of Delhi The imperial council was divided by the increasing jealousy between the wazir and the Bakhshi A peace at any price with the rebel was also urgently necessary for the Emperor if he was not to die of starvation. But on this question, too, there was a clash of interest and policy between Intizām and Imād The Bakhshi wanted to crush Safdar Jang totally and take away his provinces for himself, while the wazir dreaded such an issue as the creation of a stronger rival to his pre-eminence than Safdar Jang and therefore wished to save the ex-wazir and preserve him as a friend in his future contest with Imād !

On 12th September Suraj Mal had opened secret negotiations with the wazir, offering him twelve lakhs of Rupees if he could make peace These overtures had failed at the time And now, about the middle of October, the Jat chieftain sent his envoys directly to Imād, proposing to pay a few lakhs of Rupees as tribute but demanding to be confirmed in all the lands he stood possessed of at this time Imād wished to restrict him to the old territories of his father Badan Singh and make him disgorge his recent usurpations. So, these negotiations also failed. [*TAh.* *72b, 73b, 74b, 78a* ]

### § 21. *Mādho Singh comes and makes peace.*

In the meantime the Emperor in utter helplessness had appealed to Mādho Singh the Rajah of Jaipur, as the greatest of his feudatories, to come and save him, while this quarrel between his wazir and Bakhshi was threatening to ruin his State Mādho Singh started with a large army, took bonds on the way from the zamindars of Rewāri for 50 lakhs (afterwards reduced by the Emperor to four lakhs) for the expenses of his troops, and arrived at Nagla on the Jamunā, south of Delhi city and due east of Rāisinā, on 10th October. He interviewed the Emperor during a

ride on the 15th Then, Mādho Singh, seated on the same elephant with the wazir, was led to the Diwān-i-khās and had audience of the Queen-mother receiving a fringed *pālki* and the *māhi* and *marātib* decorations On 23rd October, Mādho Singh and Ahmad Shah held a long and secret consultation The Emperor appealed to him, "In view of the loyal services of your forefathers, it is the duty of an old hereditary servant like you to save the empire in such a crisis; otherwise, nothing but dust would remain on earth as its name and mark" He then complained of the ingratitude of the three—Safdar, Intizām and Imād, who had been brought up by Muhammad Shah as his children, but were now working against him Mādho Singh, being a man of experience, consoled the Emperor [*TAh* 80, *S P D* xxvii 83]

But peace could not be so easily made The Emperor's secret plan of coming to terms with Safdar Jang behind Imād's back was betrayed On 23rd October, Safdar Jang gave to Aqibat Mahmud copies of the letters formerly written to him by the Emperor asking him to make peace through the wazir Aqibat showed these to Imād who sent them to the Emperor But Ahmad Shah in fear and trembling wrote to Imād to say that these letters were forged by Safdar Jang ! Seeing the Emperor so bent on peace, Imād himself opened negotiations Then the wazir, in order to spoil Imād's plan, arranged that the Emperor should go on a visit to the garden of Khizirābād and Mādho Singh should bring Suraj Mal there to secure his pardon This was done on 25th October, Suraj Mal being represented by an agent The wazir rejoiced that the peace was not made through Imād Suraj Mal from his camp south of Ballabhgarh came with a few men to Mādho Singh's tent and saw him as well as the wazir who was waiting there by previous arrangement In the evening the wazir returned to his own mansion; Suraj Mal remained in Mādho Singh's camp for that night and the next five days [*TAh.* 81*b*-83-*a* ]

A settlement was made with Safdar Jang also, but in the same secret and irregular fashion. On 5th November, Mādho Singh's officer Fath Singh conveyed to Safdar Jang an imperial *farmān*, a robe of honour, an aigrette, a jewelled crest-ornament, a pearl necklace and a horse from the Emperor. When Imād protested against this act, Ahmad Shah replied, "I know nothing

of this I never sent these things to him" The wazir too professed equal ignorance Some courtiers said that it was the Emperor's *khilat* lately presented to Mādho Singh which that Rajah had sent to Safdar Jang ! But whatever the truth of this matter might be, the war with Safdar Jang was formally ended, all the same Mādho Singh's work as peace-maker done, he was permitted to return to his kingdom without taking formal leave His reward was the imperial fort of Rantambhor which his father and elder brother had begged for in vain from Muhammad Shah [*TAh*. 83*a*-84*b* ] On 7th November, Safdar Jang broke up his camp near Sikri (three miles south of Ballabhgarh) and set out on his march towards Oudh He still carried with himself, surrounded by scarlet screens, the bogus prince whom he had enthroned as Emperor in May last, but from the way sent him to Agrā in charge of Amar Singh Crossing the Jamunā at Mathurā (17th November), he took the route to Oudh [*TAh* 84-*b*-89*b* ]

This final withdrawal of Safdar Jang from the capital completed the stage at which the ablest and most experienced of the elder peers in despair, gave up the task of reforming the administration and retired to some distant provinces where they could at least achieve something really great and good, though in a smaller sphere The practical independence of these provincial governors in Bengal, Oudh and the Deccan, and their scornful unconcern with the affairs of Delhi coupled with the Marātha seizure of Gujrat and Mālwā and the Afghan annexation of the Panjab, contracted the Empire of India into a small area round Delhi and a few districts of the modern U P, where small men only fought and intrigued for small personal ends

## CHAPTER XII

### Downfall of Ahmad Shah

### § 1. *Difficulties of imperial Government after Safdar Jang's departure*

The Emperor Ahmad Shah reigned for six months only after the end of Safdar Jang's rebellion, and these were months of unceasing disorder in and outside the capital and increasing misery and degradation of the Crown. The retreat of the vanquished ex-wazir from the contest with his sovereign did not bring peace and prosperity back to the Delhi Government, nor could this single cause effect such a miracle. This hectic struggle had exhausted the wealth of the Emperor, dried up the sources of revenue, and left his Government overwhelmed with debt. In the course of it, he and his advisers had to concentrate all their thoughts and resources on the one task of defeating the enemy at the gate and had to neglect everything else. When this danger had at last rolled away, it was found that the work before them was nothing less than the building up of a new empire out of chaos. For such a task neither Ahmad Shah nor his Chancellor or army Chief was gifted. To the utter bankruptcy of the Treasury was added the mortal jealousy between the two highest ministers of State which was unmasked in all its shamelessness by the exit of their common foe. As early as a month before Safdar Jang's breach with the Emperor, the shrewd Marātha agent at Delhi had noted that the Turāni party was internally divided and formed four factions none of which would obey or work with any other. During the war with Safdar Jang, Imād had openly taunted the new wazir with cowardice for preferring to remain with the Emperor within shelter of Delhi's walls while throwing the brunt of the actual fighting upon him and his personal contingent. The timid powerless sovereign, placed between these two strong rivals, tried to save himself by lying to Imād, while he secretly followed Intizām's counsel. After Safdar Jang's departure, an open clash between the wazir and the Bakhshi was inevitable, and when

Ahmad Shah chose to side with Intizām he was bound to be involved in his wazir's fate [*S.P.D* xxi. 55]

This civil war had left a legacy of debt which it was beyond any man's power to liquidate The new imperial levies and allies, numbering 80,000 fighting men, cost* at the lowest estimate 24 *lakhs* of Rupes a month and they had been embodied for seven months, so that the total charge under this head amounted to one *kror* and 68 *lakhs* In addition to this, the existing old army had been in arrears of salary for over two years at the outbreak of the civil war And this happened at a time when the Emperor could hardly raise two *lakhs* by selling his plate and jewellery, the bankers were refusing to advance money on the strength of an order on the revenue of any province, and even the Delhi agent of the chief banker of Bengal (called *Nagar-seth* in *TAh.* but better known as *Jagat-seth*) had been drained dry in the lean years before the war. Therefore, the last six months of Ahmad Shah's reign were continually disturbed by the tumults of the starving unpaid soldiery in an even more aggravated form than during Jāvid Khan's *regime* The officials and menials of the palace were unpaid for 32 months (1753) The Court accused Imād and his right hand man Aqibat Mahmud of putting the soldiers up to make these demonstrations against the Government, in order to increase its helplessness The Emperor gave the blank reply that he had placed all his treasure and territory in charge of Imād and had nothing with him now to give to anybody As he told Imād on 28th December, 1753, "Pay the musketeers of the Top-khānah from the 15 lakhs I have entrusted to you Pay the salaries of the other regiments, especially the *Sin-dāgh risāla* out of the revenue of Ballabhgarh and the subah of Allahabad which I have conferred upon you I leave you full power, but you must not practise oppression" [*TAh.* 103*b*]

* The Marātha agent in Delhi reported that a trooper cost one Rupee a day in Delhi (*S P D* xxi 55, *Aiti Patr* ii. 89) Ghaziuddin *reduced* the pay of his troopers to Rs 30 a month in 1751 The daily pay of the Ruhela soldiers was, as a matter of grace to a bankrupt State and a temporary concession, fixed at 12 annas per trooper and 4 annas per infantryman in Sep. 1753 [*TAh* 67 *a*] The normal monthly salary of the cavalry was Rs. 50 each

The most pressing creditors of State were the Ruhelā and Marātha auxiliaries* and the Badakhshi brigade lured away from Safdar Jang's side, for whose monthly salary Imād as Bakhshi was directly responsible Imād, therefore, first set himself to re-conquer the district south of Delhi where Jāt usurpers predominated in the villages, and he planned to attack thereafter the great Jāt kingdom of Bharatpur and levy a large tribute Soon afterwards a settlement was made : "The dues of Najib Khan Ruhelā and Bahādur Khan Baluch, amounting to 15 lakhs, were assigned on the revenue of the Ganges-Jamunā doāb and certain villages east of the Ganges which had formerly been in the possession of the Ruhelās. So the Ruhelās left Delhi for their homes (26th Nov ) But immediately after crossing the Jamunā they invested Patparganj and seizing the headman of the place demanded lakhs of Rupees from that mart and beat him, they did the same thing at Shāhdarā, and after forcibly occupying the toll-offices (*nāka*) on the river bank robbed the wayfarers They left Patparganj only after taking Rs 35,000" In March next, Najib Khan dispossessed the official collector of Sarhind, and in April occupied Saharanpur and the wazir's jāgirs in that region, but restored them in May 1754. [*TAh* 87*a*-88*b*, 121*a*, 125*a* ]

### § 2 *Imād's conquest of the district south of Delhi, murder of Balu Jat*

Imād's chief agent Aqibat Mahmud Khan opened the campaign of reconquest in the Faridabad district, south of Delhi, which lay in the Bakhshi's *jāgir* Here the leading disturber of law and order was Balu Jāt When Aqibat came with 500 Badakhshi and 2,000 Marātha troopers and demanded the revenue of the district and the tribute due to the Emperor, Balu resiled from his promise and showed fight Imād sent 7,000 more troops and 30 pieces of light artillery with rockets to Aqibat to match the guns of Ballabhgarh After some fighting Balu made his submission, saw Aqibat and agreed to pay the rent and tribute due from him Then Aqibat advanced to Palwal, 14 miles south of Ballabhgarh, but found the peasants afraid to pay him rent lest

* As early as 13th Sept. 1753 the Emperor owed 25 lakhs to the Ruhela soldiery and could pay only 4 lakhs on the 16th [*TAh*, 67 *a*]

Balu should demand it again The revenue-collector of the place whom Balu had ousted, told Aqibat that unless he captured Ballabhgarh and killed Balu he would fail to get control over the administration of the district A thānahdār sent by him to Fathpur village was turned out by the ryots at Balu's bidding. Aqibat, therefore, marched back to a plain near Ballabhgarh and asked Balu to come and settle the revenue demand Balu arrived with his *diwān* one son and an escort of 250 men Aqibat demanded payment saying that as Imād had made the peace for him the Emperor was pressing Imād for the tribute. The Jāt chief replied defiantly, "I have not brought the money in my pocket I only promised to pay the tribute after collecting the rents If you want to wrest this tract from me, you will have to fight for it" High words were exchanged and Balu in anger laid his hand on the hilt of his sword But the Badakhshis surrounding Aqibat's *palki* fell upon Balu and slew him with his son, his *diwān* and nine other men* (29 November, 1753 ) The garrison of Ballabhgarh kept up a fire till midnight, after which they evacuated the fort Aqibat took possession of it with all its artillery and armament and gave the other property within up to plunder by his soldiers The district was then conferred upon Imād

Aqibat quickly followed up this success In the following week he sacked the walled villages of Mitnaul and Hathin (12m s. and s w. of Palwa), the refractory peasants of which had offered fight all day and fled away at night He then attacked the small mud-forts of the Jāts all around Palwal and brought them under his rule Then after a visit to Delhi, he started (27 December) again for the Faridābād district, taking Khandoji Holkar and his troops to assist him in the campaign. But he could not control the Faridabad district, as his soldiers refused to obey his agents, and the Jāts seized this opportunity to expel the outposts set up by him at Garhi Hathin and other newly conquered places.

* *TAh* 89*a*-92*a* Khwājah Aftab Kh, the jamadar of Badakhshis, who had cut off Balu's head, was rewarded with the two pearl pendants taken from the Jat's ears The head was exposed on a pillar by the roadside near Faridabad (92*b*, 98*b* ) *Ballabhgarh* was named *Nizamgarh* after Imād's new title Nizamulmulk Asaf Jah. (106*b* )

So, he appealed to his master to come in person, and Imād marched from Delhi to Ballabhgarh.

Khandoji encamped at Hodal (17m s. of Palwal) and sent detachments which plundered the Jāt villages all around, even as far as Barsāna and Nandgāon (12 and 17 miles south), ousting Suraj Mal's son from them and establishing Marātha posts there (end of December 1753.) This strengthened Aqibat's position and he sacked the Jāt village of Ghangaulā (9m s w of Ballabhgarh) belonging to a brother of Balu and planted his own thānah there (5 Jan. 1754.) On 8th January, Imād advanced from Ballabhgarh to Palwal and got into touch with Khandoji at Hodal. The fort of Ghāsera (15 miles due west of Palwal) had been wrested by Suraj Mal from Bahādur Singh Bargujar on 23 April 1753, after that chieftain had slain his women and rushed to death in battle at the head of 25 desperate followers Imād appointed Bahādur's son Fath Singh master of his father's fort, which the Jāt garrison had now evacuated in terror Thus a mortal enemy of the Jāts was planted there with orders to attack their hamlets around In short, most of the Jāt homes on both banks of the Jamunā now fell into Imād's hands and his rule was established even as far south as Mathurā and Agra, from which the Jāt usurpers fled away. Another officer expelled the Jāt force that had seized Koil (Aligarh) and Jalesar Imad sent his men to restore the civil administration in all these long-disturbed places and to induce the peasants to return to cultivation (middle of January.) Soon afterwards the Marāthas laid siege to Kumbher and Khandoji was called there [*TAh.* 93*b*, 94*b*, 102*a*, 104*b*-107*a*.]

### § 3. *New Marātha army arrives in the North, its policy.*

At the outbreak of Safdar Jang's rebellion, the Peshwā had received an appeal for help from the Emperor and repeated letters from his agents in Delhi to send a strong force to Hindustan in order to maintain the Marātha position there, retain hold of the concessions previously granted, and to improve them by taking advantage of the civil war Both sides sent agents to bid for Marātha armed support, but the Peshwā wisely decided not to back the rebel wazir. Of his troops, however, only 4,000 had

reached Delhi early enough to take part in the opening battles and to receive regular pay from the imperial Government These were reinforced later by fresh detachments, probably not exceeding 6,000 horse The main Marātha army, however, was directed to sit on the fence, watch for the end of the civil war and then join the victor or take advantage of the exhaustion of both sides, so as to increase the Marātha domination in the North This main army, led by the Peshwā's younger brother Raghunāth Rao, was joined by Malhar Holkar on the Narmadā (22 Sep.-5 Oct., 1753), traversed a part of Mālwā, and then crossed the Mukundarā pass (29 Oct.) into Jaipur territory, because he heard that peace had been made between the Emperor and Safdar Jang But a body of 4,000 horse under Khandoji, the son of Malhar Holkar, arrived near Delhi and encamped at the tank of Kishandās on 21 November

By this time Safdar Jang had withdrawn from the field, and now began a shameful scramble between Intizām and Imād for winning this Marātha force over to his own side Imād visited Khandoji the day after his arrival On the 25th the wazir sent Rajah Jugalkishor to the young Marātha chief, who refused to see him, saying, "Malharji has sent me to the Mir Bakhshi. I have nothing to do with any one else" On 1st December, the Emperor called Bāpu Rao Hingané, Antāji Mānkeshwar and other Marātha agents in Delhi and held a prolonged discussion with them and the wazir The wazir desired that the Marātha generals who had come should dissociate themselves from the Bakhshi, and follow the wazir's directions. The Deccanis refused, as they wished to be friendly with the Nizām's family for guarding their interests in the South and had designs against Suraj Mal whose protector was the wazir and enemy the Bakhshi. So they ended the conference with the evasive reply, "After the arrival of Raghunāth Rao and Malhar whatever is considered expedient by them will be done" Not daunted by this rebuff, the Emperor led by his wazir, sent to Khandoji 22,000 gold coins and robes of honour and other presents on 10th December; but the Marātha chief scornfully rejected them with the remark, "I am not a servant of the Emperor that he should bestow *khilats* on me. I have come here at my father's order to join the Bakhshi in his campaign against Suraj Mal. My father will arrive after a

few days. Speak to him and give him what you have to say and to give" The gold coins offered as an inducement for his going back from Delhi and saving the environs from daily pillage, were also rejected, at the Bakhshi's instigation Then the Emperor appealed to Imād who sent Aqibat to persuade Khandoji to visit the sovereign [*T. Ah.* 88*a*-98*b* ]

### § 4 *Khandoji Holkar's audience with the Emperor.*

The 26th of December was fixed for the interview, which was held in a tent in the Nili Chhatri garden, close to the Jamunā, north of the fort. The chamberlain of the audience hall, before ushering him in, asked the Marātha what he had brought as present (*nazar* and *nisār*) for the sovereign Khandoji replied that he had brought no gold coin with himself as he had no idea of an interview, but had come to bathe in the Jamunā at the conjunction of the moon, when Aqibat Mahmud brought him by importunity to the Presence. The chamberlain took 21 *mohars* out of his own pocket, placed them before the Emperor, and cried out "Khandoji presents a *nazar* of a hundred *mohars*, an elephant, and a horse." The Emperor ordered the customary *khilat* for him, but when Khandoji was taken to an anteroom to be invested in this robe of honour, he declined it, saying, "If Antāji Mānkeshwar, who was once our servant but has been created a peer of this Court, is never allowed to come to the Presence in future, then only can I accept a *khilat*" After a long wrangle the helpless eunuchs agreed to this condition, robed him, and led him back to the Presence, where the new courtier made only two bows of thanksgiving in the place of the customary four When a sword was ordered to be presented to him, he at first demanded that the Emperor should sling it round his neck with his own hands, and he could be made to accept it from the hands of the armoury officer with the greatest difficulty Thereafter he again made only two *taslims*! The Emperor at last said, "I had called you only to assist me in fighting Safdar Jang. Now that by the grace of God that business is over, I give you *congé* to return home. When I need you again, I shall summon you." Khandoji replied, "I am now under your blessed feet, and wish to remain here" The Emperor repeatedly gave him formal leave to depart, but he

made no reply. In fact, Khandoji, besides being immoderately proud of his troops and bravery, used to remain day and night under the intoxication of wine and could not hold polite conversation with the Emperor. At last he made two bows and was dismissed. He was next taken to the wazir's house where he was hospitably entertained till midnight. [T.Ah. 99b-100b.]

## § 5. *Marātha siege of Kumbher, death of Khandé Rao Holkar.*

The Marāthas had imposed claims to *chauth* or contribution upon various Rājput States ever since Bāji Rāo's visit in 1736 and particularly in connection with succession disputes in the three States of Bundi, Jaipur and Mārwār. At the end of September 1753, a powerful army under the Peshwa's younger brother Raghunāth Rāo crossed the Narmadā to realise these dues. Joined by Malhar Holkar, he entered Jaipur territory and spent over two months there (9 Nov 1753-15 Jan 1754), securing payment from Jaipur (12 lakhs) and several smaller States Suraj Mal, who had formed a secret defensive understanding with Mādho Singh during their return from Delhi after making peace with the Emperor, had sent his envoy Ruprām Kothāri to the Marātha camp Malhar had demanded two *krores* from him on the ground that Suraj Mal had gathered much more than that amount in his plunder of the suburbs of Delhi. The Jāt envoy for buying the Marāthas off, offered four *lakhs* in addition to the Emperor's regular tribute; but Malhar would not accept it and invaded the Jāt country. Inspired by Suraj Mal, the heir and minister of their old chief Badan Singh, the Jāt nobles decided on resisting this unjust demand and put their forts in a strong posture of defence, while their common soldiers were animated by a keen sense of brotherhood and the proud consciousness of having never been defeated.

When the Marātha army approached the famous Jāt forts of Dig (16 Jan 1754), Bharatpur and Kumbher, they were driven back by the fire of the artillery on the walls. One pitched battle was fought in the plain with heavy slaughter on both sides, after which Suraj Mal, overcome by the enemy's superior numbers, shut himself up in Kumbher. The Marāthas sat down before it, but they had no siege guns, and merely plundered and occupied

the country round Raghunāth Rao encamped at Pingare (near Kumbher) on 20th January and removed to the plain before that fort* on 28th February, where he continued to stay till 22nd May Khandé Rāo Holkar was encamped at Hodal early in January, engaged in expelling the Jāt outposts in that district. He was now ordered by his father to march with his 4,000 horse and join in the siege of Kumbher, where he arrived after looting parts of Mewāt on his way Malhar, through his ally Imād-ul-mulk, begged the Emperor for the loan of siege-guns from the imperial arsenals in Delhi and Agra, but Ahmad Shah, tutored by his wazir, delayed compliance on the plea of lack of money to pay his artillerymen and to replenish the munitions exhausted during the war with Safdar Jang

In March Imād at the call of Malhar marched from Mathurā to Kumbher, where Aqibat joined him. But the daily efforts of the allies failed against the fort, because of their want of breaching artillery, while complete investment for stopping ingress and egress was impossible. Khandé Rāo having made covered lanes approached the walls One day (*c.* 15 March 1754) he had gone in a *pālki* to inspect his trenches, in his usual tipsy condition, when the fort opened fire and he was killed by a *zamburak* shot Nine of his wives burnt themselves on his pyre, the only survivor being the young Ahalyā Bāi destined to rise to fame as one of India's noblest queens and most saintly widows Malhar turned almost mad with grief at the death of his beloved son and vowed to extirpate the Jāts in revenge He first went to Mathurā to perform the funeral rites of his son in that sacred city Imād came to condole with him, remarking, "Henceforth look upon me as your son in the place of Khando" Suraj Mal, too, professed the deepest sorrow for this issue of war and sent mourning robes for Malhar and Khandé's son. The Emperor, on 9 April, presented robes to Malhar and ornaments to Malhar's wife through Bāpu Rāo Hingané, in token of his sympathy

* On 15th March Raghunāth Rāo gave Imād-ul-mulk a written undertaking to deliver to him one-fourth of the treasure and other booty expected to be captured from the Jats The Jaipur minister Har-govind Nātāni was present in the Marātha camp on behalf of his master outwardly to assist in the siege, but he really contrived to thwart and delay the invaders. [*SPD* xxvii. 104 and 94.]

The siege of Kumbher dragged on for four months. At last in the middle of May, peace was made, Rupram, on behalf of his master, gave a written bond to pay the Marathas Rs 30 lakhs by instalments in three years. In addition to this, the two krores which had been previously imposed by Imād as peshkash due from the Jāt Rājah to the Emperor, was now agreed to be paid to Imād and the Marāthas instead. So the siege ended; Imād left the place on 18th May and Raghunāth Rāo on the 22nd, and both came to Mathurā. [*T. Ah* 108*b*-110*a*, 117*b*, 121*b*, 128*a*. *Sujān Charitra*, *Jang* vii incomplete. *S P D*, xxvii, No 79, p 94 gives 26 May as the date of the bond.]

## § 6. *Conflict between Emperor and Imād.*

In the meantime a complete estrangement had taken place between the Emperor and his Bakhshi and an open conflict between the two was shortly to be precipitated which ended in the ruin of Ahmad. In the months following Safdar Jang's departure, the star of Imād was steadily in the ascendant. His one difficulty was from lack of money. He had exhausted all his ancestral hoards and had saddled himself with debt during the six months' life and death struggle with Safdar Jang. But the public treasury was empty, revenue had ceased to come in from the provinces. The only course open to Imād was to seize the rents of the Crownlands and the other nobles' jāgirs in the districts within easy distance of the capital.

When the war with Safdar Jang first broke out, it was agreed in the presence of the Emperor and his ministers that all the wealth of the realm should be first devoted to the work of crushing the rebel, and that on his downfall the revenue of the Deccan should be paid by Imād (as Nizām-ul-mulk) into the imperial treasury after deducting the dues of the soldiers, old and newly recruited, the wazir (Intizām) agreed to do the same in respect of the revenue of his provinces of the Panjab and Kashmir, the *subahs* under Safdar Jang would be taken away from him and given, Oudh half and half to the new wazir and Bakhshi, and Allahabad for paying the salary of the *Sindāgh* troops. But this scheme did not work as it was based upon many calculations which proved futile in practice, and the trouble about money con-

tinued to grow worse Imād gradually grew disloyal and in the pride of power even dreamt of seizing the throne. [*TAh* 96*a*, 97*b*, 102.]

On the question of clearing the soldiers' arrears, there was a sharp conflict of opinion between the Emperor and the Paymaster. Imād pressed him to go with him, chastise the rebels in the districts near the capital, collect the rents, or else sell the Jāt kingdom to Muhakam Singh, (the son of Churāman) who had been dispossessed by Churāman's nephew Badan Singh But the Emperor would not leave these affairs in Imād's hands; he listened to the wazir's counsels and often negatived Imād's proposals, holding that the Bakhshi could easily meet his army charges from the estates placed under him Even when the Emperor entrusted 15 lakhs to Imād for paying the soldiers, the Bakhshi kept the money for himself and provoked daily riots by the starving soldiery against the Emperor, his household officers, and his wazir. Early in February 1754, Imād sent a detachment to take possession of Koil and Sikandrabad, which were estates of the Emperor's privy purse, while his lieutenant Aqibat Mahmud squeezed the peasants of Rewāri, another Crownland district This usurpation dried up the royal income and brought the inmates of the palace to the brink of starvation At the same time the row of the unpaid soldiers continued for two months in the city of Delhi. The Emperor could do nothing to remedy it; he wrote to the Bakhshi to keep his promise and pay these men, but Imād merely put off a settlement from day to day. [*TAh.* 103-104, 109*b*, 111*b*, 113*b*]

### § 7. *Aqibat Mahmud enters Delhi and terrorises Emperor.*

From Kumbher Imād sent repeated requests to the Emperor for the loan of big guns for the siege of that fort, but the Emperor, as advised by the wazir, evaded a reply. At last Aqibat was sent with a strong Maratha force to visit the Emperor and personally press the request for the guns. The Emperor feared that Aqibat was coming in such strength to insult and oppress him. So, he at first thought of offering armed opposition to his entry; he inspected the muster-rolls of the troops available and ordered the city of Delhi to be guarded in force at vital points, as during the war with Safdar Jang. But his officers shrank from the idea of

facing Aqibat's superior forces and nothing was done. And yet the foolish Emperor would not make peace by giving up the guns! [*TAh* 115*b* 119*b*]

Aqibat Mahmud entered Delhi on 16th March. The city had then been for several weeks past in the hands of the mutinous soldiery demanding their pay, now 26 months in arrears, law and order had disappeared; the Emperor and the wazir lived besieged in their palaces. The Badakhshi soldiers of Aqibat began to oppress the Hindu jewellers for money (20 March.) On the 24th these troops roved in the suburbs, throwing the city into alarm and driving the Emperor to order his fort artillerymen to stand to arms ready for repelling any possible attack. "Aqibat continued to send his servants to seize all men who were reported to be wealthy and extort money from them on the false charge of their being depositories of the wealth of Safdar Jang, and to rob the Crownland villages east of the Jamunā."

### § 8 *Street fighting in Delhi, 8-9 April, 1754.*

At last on 8th April, Aqibat got up a demonstration by his rowdy Badakhshi troops to terrorise the Emperor into yielding the guns At his instigation the full strength (5,000) of these foreign mercenaries went to all sides of the fort and closed all its entrances and exits. One body of 500 of them appeared below the *jharokā* window of the palace with loaded muskets and lighted matches and replied to the challenge of the guard above, "We are the Emperor's soldiers of the *Sin-dāgh* regiment and have been unpaid for a year Give us our salary!" Groups of them gathered at every custom-barrier of the city and in the plain outside the fort, stopping traffic and plundering whoever came within their reach "The Emperor ordered his men not to fight unless attacked. During that day and night none of the men of the imperial artillery and stores who were within the fort could come out for eating any meal, but remained prisoners without food till the noon of next day. The Emperor quaked in extreme alarm."

After sunset, the Emperor's palace superintendent Khwājah Bakhtāwar Khan went from the fort to the wazir's house to arrange for some means of paying these soldiers. When return-

ing, he borrowed five light guns from the wazir by way of defence and carried them in front of his party When he arrived near the Jāma Masjid the Badakhshis by a rush seized these guns, and his handful of guards was borne down by the superior number of the mutineers, many of them being slain in offering resistance The wazir sent up reinforcements under his artillery officers Mir Bakhurdār Khān, who fired on the rioters, but finding the street blocked, cut his way with his Mughalia followers through the crowd and entered the Jāma Masjid for safety The Badakhshis, finding that he had escaped, stood in force in the Faiz Bazār nearby But they were subjected to a double fire, by Bakhtāwar and Barkhurdār, from the houses on the two sides, as they lay unprotected in the street below The thatches of the shops in the Khās Bāzār before the gate of the Jāma Masjid caught fire from the discharge of muskets and guns, and at last the Badakhshis fled away after losing many men and abandoning the wazir's *rahkala* they had seized Bakhtāwar then re-entered the fort, and coming out in full force bombarded the Barādāri house where Aqibat had taken post The thatched roofs projecting below that building were burnt down by artillery fire and the wall of the Barādāri was breached Aqibat left it and went to his men on the river bank Here the Badakhshis attacked a party of imperialists under the eunuch Basant Khan standing below the *jharokā* window, but fire was opened on them from the fort walls and they fled away At last Aqibat admitted defeat, evacuated the city two hours before dawn, and retreated to Jaisinghpurā Then the Emperor ordered his men to cease fighting.

A host of men, including soldiers, sight-seers, and bazār people, were slain or had their houses burnt down and their property looted both in the Khās Bāzār and also in the Khāri Bāoli quarter,—where another body of Badakhshis had looted, killed and burnt during the course of this night's street fighting, before they were defeated and driven out by the Lahor Gate. Next morning Delhi looked like a city taken by storm and sacked.*

Even after his expulsion from Delhi, Aqibat did not cease to give trouble. In the environs of the capital he continued to

* *TAh* 112a-124a *DC* (differs in details) *Muz* 85-86

plunder traders and extort money from well-to-do men wherever heard of, pretending all the time that he was helpless as his unpaid Turkish troops (Badakhshis) had taken the reins out of his hands. [*TAh.* 125*a*, 127*a*.]

## § 9 *Wazir's plan for rescuing the Emperor from Imad and the Marathas*

The civil war had left Imād as indisputably the most powerful and renowned noble at the Court of Delhi. His large and seasoned personal contingent and his close and staunch alliance with the Marāthas would have made his power irresistible if the Jāt Rājah could be crushed and the fabulous wealth hoarded in his strongholds seized by the Bakhshi, because the Jats now remained as the only people capable of opposing Imād's overgrown strength. Nothing could then prevent him from deposing the house of Timur and taking the throne himself. Intizam, who was an intriguing politician, though no soldier, therefore contrived from the outset to save Safdar Jang from total annihilation, maintain the Jāt power intact, and rally these two and the Rājput Rajahs in a coalition under the Emperor's banners for expelling the Marāthas from Hindustan and effectually guarding the imperial dominions from their encroachments in future. If Imād persisted in allying himself with the Deccani enemies of the State, he was to be crushed. The sword-arm of this new imperial defensive policy was to be the Hindu princes of Rajputana "whose lands were every year worse ravaged by the Marāthas than the imperial territory" [*Muz.* 88], and the Jats of Bharatpur, whose accumulated hoards had excited the envy and greed of the professional spoilers from the South. This bold plan of action was to be stiffened by the adhesion of Safdar Jang's long experience, eminent position in the peerage, and command of a body of veterans. For building up this coalition it was necessary for these late enemies to meet together, exchange personal assurances and oaths with the Emperor, and settle the terms quickly at a conference. Intizām, therefore, arranged that the Emperor should go out of Delhi (where he was no better than a prisoner of the soldiery), to Sikandrābād on the plea of hunting and visiting the State gardens, and there meet Suraj Mal and Safdar Jang to whom

secret letters of invitation had been sent, and then their combined forces would open the campaign For this the imperial heavy artillery was to be taken out of Delhi, ostensibly for the Sovereign's escort, but really for giving the necessary support to his attempt to recover the Crownlands on that side from the hands of the rebels who had seized them

In pursuance of this policy, the new wazir had persistently influenced the Emperor to evade Imād's demand for taking away all his provincial governments from Safdar Jang and turning him into a beggar, and also saved Suraj Mal from destruction by withholding the big guns so pressingly demanded by Imād for helping the Marāthas to take Kumbher He had also secured the Emperor's pardon for Safdar's two foremost Hindu officers Rajah Lachhmi Nārāyan and Jugalkishor as early as 19th December 1753, and an order for the restoration of their escheated house and property on 17th May 1754 [*TAh* 96*b*, *DC* ]

Such a policy of action required for its success courage and initiative on the part of the leaders But the Emperor was constantly absorbed in drink or pleasure, his wazir was incompetent, and both were extremely timid and fond of ease The Queen-mother, too, with feminine obstinacy and pique now opposed the idea of coming to friendly terms with the ex-rebel Safdar Jang [*Siyar*, iii. 49 ] The result was that Intizām's fine paper-scheme for the restoration of the imperial authority broke down when put in operation, and this one event of the march to Sikandrābād caused the instant and irretrievable ruin of Ahmad Shah and his wazir Delhi historians have charged Intizām with treachery to his master for this failure, but there is no valid ground for this view. The character of these two chiefs made such a catastrophe as inevitable as the working of destiny

§ 10. *The Emperor marches to Sikandrābād*

But how was the insolvent sovereign to make this royal journey with all his family, household staff and artillery? The gunners refused to move unless their arrears were paid, the royal elephants had been kept fasting for four days at a time and grown too weak to carry loads; there was no draught bullock left in the artillery department; the imperial stores were denuded of their

materials, no menial or porter could be secured and no cart hired except for cash, of which there was none in the Treasury. But somehow or other, the Emperor with his mother and wazir managed to make a start from Delhi and went to Luni on 27th April; the other princesses and the royal artillery arrived a few days later. Aqibat Mahmud then fell back from Ghāziābād (10m s.e. of Luni) to Sikandrābād, plundering the wayfarers and the carts of food-stuff coming to Delhi. The wazir kept urging the Emperor to advance to Sikandrābād for recovering that tract of Crownland from the usurpers. The Emperor at last consented, in spite of his lack of the money and material necessary for the journey and the projected campaign. Leaving Luni on 8th May, he reached his camp a few miles beyond Sikandrābād on the 17th. Meantime, Aqibat, after extorting Rs. 50,000 from the local traders in cloth and *ghee* by attaching their waggons of goods on the roads, had fallen back further south to Khurjā, and the Emperor's administration was restored at Sikandrābād.

Here came the alarming news that Imād and the Marāthas having made peace with the Jāts had reached Mathurā, evidently intending to attack the Emperor or his capital with their overwhelming forces. Aqibat now sought an interview with Ahmad Shah through the wazir, who always "preferring peace to fighting," agreed. The Emperor felt himself utterly helpless and faced with ruin. On Friday the 24th of May, he prayed long in his tent and wept before God. Aqibat came and interviewed him. The subtle Kashmiri wore a *darvish's* frock ("a long *gulārmāni* robe known in India as the badge of a man who has abandoned the world," *Muz* 89), and whined that he was bent on retiring to a life of asceticism as his master Imād did not appreciate him. The Emperor was taken in and gave him a post in his own service! Then Aqibat took leave for Khurjā, promising to bring that district under his new master's control.

Next day Aqibat wrote to inform the Emperor that Malhar Holkar was marching on Delhi with 50,000 horse, intending to release some prince from the State-prison of Salim-garh and crown him. At this news Ahmad Shah was unnerved and decided on returning to Delhi; but he took no precaution, nor posted patrols round his camp, as no Marātha had been reported within 50 miles of him. He only sent his advance-tents on the 25th towards

Jhaunsi (10m n of Sikandrābād) on the way to Delhi intending to march there the next day [TAh 125b-128b. Muz 89-90 Siyar, 49 ]

## § 11 *Malhar surprises imperial camp at Sikandrābād, 26 May 1754*

But in the night between, spies brought the news that 20,000 Marātha light horse under Malhar had arrived within 24 miles of the camp * Ahmad Shah called his wazir for counsel, but the latter, being sick of his worthless master and exasperated at the failure of his plan of campaign, gave an angry reply The Emperor immediately ordered the drums to beat a march, called for his portable chair (*takht-i-rawān*), and ordered that that night they would go to Shorājpur, 7 miles north of Sikandrābād. At this sudden order, for which none had been prepared before, his servants became utterly confused and disturbed The camp stood at the crossing of two roads, and every one, in the absence of guidance or concerted plan of marching, went away some one way, some another

The Emperor had arranged that Udham Bāi (his mother), Ināyetpuri Bāi (his favourite wife), Mahmud Shah *alias* Prince Bankā (his son), and Sāhibā Begam (his half-sister) should mount with him from the royal gate; the other princesses were ordered to enter their carriages at the Khawāspurā gate of the camp and to be conducted by the *nāzir* Roz-āfzun Khan After the Emperor had started, his wife's sister, with his daughter Dilāfroz Bānu (or Muhammadi Begam) and some other ladies and maids got into a bamboo-covered waggon at the royal gate and followed him "During this confusion some arrived and some were left behind, none knew or cared who came and who did not At the Khawāspurā gate a large party of royal ladies, including Malikā-i-zamāni and Sāhib Mahal (two widows of Muhammad Shah), two daughters of Ahmad Shah, and Sarfarāz Mahal and Rāni Uttam Kumāri (two of the Emperor's secondary wives) had mounted their covered waggons (*rath*) when the

* *TAh* 128b-131a, most detailed and accurate, followed here. Shākir (77) present, but gives no detail *Siyar* iii 49 *Muz.* 90-92. *D.C* *Bayān* 283-284 (incredible) *S.P.D* *xxi* 60 (Maratha side)

Marāthas were sighted and an alarm was raised." It was two o'clock in the morning of the fourth day of the new moon, which had set long ago The numerous munition carts and the waggons of the imperial stores and workshops and a vast crowd of followers blocked the road and caused indescribable confusion, which was heightened by the darkness of the night and the horror of the Marātha attack, who had opened fire with their matchlocks Every one fled wherever he could find an opening, forgetful of duty or friendship

The numerous waggons ridden by the ladies of the harem could not maintain one unbroken line of caravan, but became dispersed, so that they could not be guided or protected Roz-āfzun Khan (though a septuagenarian and invalid) guarded the princesses' carriages as far as he could. "But how could a hundred resist a thousand?" Malikā-i-zamāni was captured by the Marāthas and conveyed back to the imperial camp now in Marātha possession. The carts of Sāhib Mahal and some other ladies along with Roz-āfzun himself were overtaken by Aqibat's brother and conducted to the house of the *qāzi* of the city Thus the night passed, none getting anything to eat.

After Ahmad Shah had reached Shorājpur with his few companions, spies brought the report that the Marāthas were coming up in pursuit. He immediately mounted two fast-paced female elephants,—himself and his son on one with an open *haudā*, and his mother and wife on the second which had a covered litter on its back,—and fled to Delhi with the utmost speed. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of 26th May he sneaked back into the palace of Delhi by the side of the octagonal tower; the few waggons following him entered by the southern gate Only the royal jewellery had been brought away in safety, all other kinds of property, both of the State and of individuals, as well as the artillery (said to be over 500 pieces of all calibres, *Bayān* 283), stores, treasure (some lakhs in gold and silver coins), tents &c. fell into the enemy's hands. But the greatest loss was that of the honour of the imperial family; queens and princesses were held in captivity by the rude spoilers from the South. Such a calamity had never before fallen on the house of Timur and it lowered the head of every one in Delhi

Three hours after the Emperor's arrival the wazir, the Chief of Artillery (Samsām)* and some other officers reached Delhi and came to him Ahmad Shah asked, "Why did you not bring with yourself the people of the harem and my 'honour' (i e, wives and daughters) who were there?" The wazir replied, "In the darkness of the night nothing could be learnt and nobody brought me news of their plight"

From the capital we turn to the captives who had not been so fortunate as to escape Many of the *raths* of the women which had been scattered during the confusion of the night, were overtaken by the Marāthas who tore off their screens and took away the money from their carriages and the ornaments from their persons; many women were outraged Some escaped to different sides, and some came to Delhi on foot Malikā-i-zamāni and other captives were honourably treated by Malhar and placed under the care of the imperial officers of Sikandrābād, but guarded by Marātha soldiers The change of linen of many of these ladies had been plundered, and as communication with Delhi was cut off for some days, the women of the harem, high and low, who remained captives in the camp suffered extreme hardship

It shamed Imād even On 28th May he came to Malhar's camp, went to Malikā-i-zamāni, presented five *mohars* to her, laid his turban on the ground before her, and wept, professing shame and disgrace to himself at the hardships that had befallen her, and pleading in excuse, "I was helpless in the matter. The Deccanis would listen to none. I am like their servant My face has been blackened." The ex-queen stoically laid the blame on Fate

## § 12. *Imād-ul-mulk terrorises Emperor with Marātha help*

On 30th May, the head clerk of the captive Roz-āfzun Khan brought to the Emperor a letter from Malhar making certain demands, which Roz-āfzun had strongly recommended as the only means of saving the capital from sack and the female captives from dishonour. Intizām gave bellicose counsel and said that he

* According to *D C*, during the attack on the camp, Samsām had fought for an hour and thus enabled some Begams to reach the capital in safety

was ready to fight the Marāthas, though his troops had mutinied and threatened to mob him only a few days before! The Emperor, therefore, asked for a day's respite before giving a reply to Malhar.

The next day (31st May) brought the news that a Marātha force had crossed the Jamunā and was plundering Jaisinghpurā and other suburbs south-west of the city. In fear that the capital would be sacked and the Emperor overthrown, Ahmad Shah wrote a *farmān* granting all the demands of Holkar. This first Maratha detachment withdrew in the afternoon, when another body forded the Jamunā near Khizrābād and plundered the *katrā* of Nizāmuddin Auliya's shrine and some other places and burnt the Khurram mart. Imād, on hearing of it, went to Malhar and asked, "What is this?" The Marātha general replied "These are soldiers. They always do so." Then Imad passionately cried out, "Either slay me, or withdraw your hand from such work," and drawing his dagger placed it before his ally. At this Malhar took horse, forded the Jamunā at the time of the sunset prayer, chastised the Marātha raiders and took them back across the river. The tumult ceased, but all people who could fled from the environs into the walled city of New Delhi, so that "the suburbs became totally ruined and desolate like the homes of the dead, at the hands of these unclean people."

The Emperor was stupefied and utterly helpless. On 1st June Aqibat Mahmud came to him and got his consent to making Imād wazir, and Roz-ātzun Khan superintendent of the Privy Council, thus depriving Intizām of both his high offices. In return, Aqibat swore on the Qurān that Imād and Malhar would never play him false nor trouble him and his kingdom in future. [*TAh* 131*b*-134*b*.]

## § 13 *Fall of Emperor Ahmad Shah*

On the second of June, Imād-ul-mulk came to the Court with Tātyā Gangādhar (Holkar's *diwān*), Aqibat Mahmud, and his brother Saifullah, three hours after dawn.* Ahmad Shah first placed the Holy Book in the hand of Imād and called upon him to swear that he would not practise treachery against him. Imād took the strongest oaths, and was next invested with the robe

* *TAh* 135*a*-136*a*. *D.C.*

of the wazir. Then he went to the Chancellor's office, where its clerks were in attendance, signed a few papers as required by the rules, and retired to an ante-room behind it, dismissing the Mir Atish and all other officers present Immediately after this he sent Aqibat Mahmud with the harem superintendent's assistant and a guard of 50 Badakhshi soldiers to the gate of the princes' quarter in the palace where all the grandsons of the former Emperors lived in confinement. Aqibat sent his own eunuch inside and brought out Muhammad 'Aziz-ud-din, the son of Muizzuddin, the son of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I, and went back to his master with him Imād came out of the wazir's office, made humble obeisance to the prince and followed him. By way of the triple-arch gate, they entered the *Diwān-i-ām*, where this prince was seated on the throne, the royal umbrella held over his head, and he was proclaimed Pādishāh Alamgir II.

The new Emperor immediately ordered his predecessor to be brought under arrest Saifullah with his Badakhshis entered the harem by the Khās-mahal porch and discovered Ahmad and his mother hiding among the trees of the small garden in front of the Rang-mahal The soldiers first seized the ex-Emperor and confined him in a room outside, and then throwing a *shāl* to cover his mother's face dragged her into the same prison Mother and son were not parted in this their last adversity The fallen monarch cried out for water in the agony of thirst and mental anguish Saifullah held up to his lips some water put in the sherd of a broken earthen pot lying in the dust there, and the King of Kings of an hour ago was glad to drink from it "What a revolution of fortune!" cries the annalist of his reign

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